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MEMOIRS

OF

SIR THOMAS MORE,

WITH

A NEW TRANSLATION OF HIS UTOPIA,

HIS

HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III,

AND

HIS LATIN POEMS.

By ARTHUR CAYLEY, the Younger, Esq.

Like Cato firm, like Aristides just,
Like rigid Cincinnatus nobly poor,
A dauntless soul, erect, who smil'd on death. THOMSON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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SIR THOMAS MORE'S

UTOPIA.

TO

ÆGIDIUS OF ANTWERP.

I AM almost ashamed, dearest Peter, of sending you this tract of the Utopian commonwealth, after a delay of nearly a year, when you no doubt expected it within six weeks. For you knew I was eased of the labour of invention on this occasion, and that I had no thought to bestow upon method, having only to repeat what you as well as myself heard Raphael relate. Neither, on this account, was there any occasion for eloquence, since his discourse could not be highly polished, being off-hand and from one less learned in Latin than in Greek; and my narrative, the nearer it approaches his ease and simplicity, the nearer will it resemble the truth, my sole duty and care on this occasion.

I confess, dear Peter, so much of the labour was thus taken from my hand, that little or nothing was left me; though the invention and arrangement might have demanded from no mean or unlearned capacity some time as well as study. Had eloquence as well as truth been requisite, no time or study would have enabled me to accomplish it. But as it was, these difficulties being removed, my part was only to repeat what I had heard.

Yet little of my time as this required, that little was long denied me by my other avocations. For while, in pleading and attending, in judging or settling causes, in waiting upon some on business, on others from respect, the greater part of the day is spent on other men's affairs, the remainder must be devoted to my family at home: thus I can reserve no part to myself and study. I must chat with my wife and prattle with my children, and something I have to say to my servants. These things I reckon a part of a man's business, unless he will resolve to be a stranger at home. For with whomever nature, chance, or choice, hath engaged a man in any intercourse, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to those about him as he can; still preserving such a disposition, that he may not spoil them by excessive gentleness, or let his servants become his masters.

Thus days, months, and years, slip away: what time then is left for writing? And hitherto I have said nothing of those hours which must be devoted to sleep; or of those to meals, on which many waste nearly as much time as in sleep, the consumer of almost half our life. Indeed all the time I can gain to myself, I steal from sleep and my meals; and because it is little, I have made slow progress. Yet being something, I have at last got to the end of Utopia, which I now send you; and expect, after you have read it, that you will inform me, if you can remind me of any thing which has escaped me. For though I should be happy had I as much invention and learning, as I know I have memory, and which makes me in general depend greatly upon it, yet do I not so entirely rely on my memory, as to think I can forget nothing.

My lad, John Clement, hath made some observations which startle me. You know he was present with us, as I think he ought to be at every conversation which may be useful to him; for I promise myself great things from his early progress in Greek and Roman learning. According to my memory, the bridge over Anider at Amaurot was, by Raphael's account, 500 paces; but John assures me he said 300, therefore, pray recollect what you can of this. For, if you agree with him, I will believe

that I have been mistaken; but if you remember nothing of it, I shall not alter what I have written, because it is according to my recollection. I shall take care that there be nothing falsely written, and if there be any thing doubtful, though I may perhaps *tell* a lie, I will not *make* one; for I had rather pass for a good than a wise man. But it will be easy to correct this mistake, if you can either meet with Raphael, or know how to address him by letter.

Another difficulty presses me still more, and makes your writing to him more necessary. I know not whether to blame Raphael, you, or myself for it; since we neither thought of asking him, nor he of telling us—*in what part of the new world Utopia is situate.* This was such an omission that I would gladly redeem it at any rate; for I am ashamed, after having told so much of this island, that I cannot inform my readers in what sea it lies.

There are some among us who have a strong desire to go thither. A pious divine, in particular, is very earnest in it, not so much from a vain curiosity of seeing unknown countries, as that he may advance our religion, so happily begun, to be planted there. And that he may proceed with regularity in this, he intends to procure a mission from the Pope, and be sent thither as their bishop. In a case like

this, he makes no scruple of aspiring to that character; but thinks such ambition meritorious, being solely instigated by pious zeal. He desireth it only as a mean of advancing the Christian religion, and not for any honour or advantage which may accrue to himself.

I therefore earnestly beg, if you can possibly meet with Raphael, or know how to address him, that you will be pleased to inform yourself on these points; that no falsehood may be left in my book, nor any important truth be wanting. And perhaps it will not be improper to let him see the book. For no man can correct its errors so well as he, and by perusing it, he will be able to give a more perfect judgment of it, than from any discourse about it. You will likewise be able to discover whether my undertaking be acceptable to him or not. For if he intend writing a relation of his travels, perhaps he will not be pleased that I should anticipate him in what belongs to the Utopian Commonwealth; since, in that case, his book will not surprise the world with the pleasure which this new discovery will give it.

I am so little fond of appearing in print on this occasion, that if he dislike it, I will lay the piece aside; and even though he should approve it, I am not determined on pub-

lishing it. The tastes of men differ greatly. Some are so morose and sour, and form such absurd judgments, that the cheerful and lively who indulge their genius, seem happier than those who waste their time and strength in authorship. Though their work may be useful or pleasant, instead of being well received, it will be laughed at or censured. Many have no learning, others despise it. One accustomed to a coarse, harsh style, thinks every thing disagreeable which is not barbarous. Our trifling pretenders to learning, think all slight which is not dressed in obsolete words. Some love only what is old, others only what is their own.

Some are so sour that they can allow no jests, others so dull that they cannot bear any thing sharp; some dread any thing gay and lively, as a man bitten by a mad dog dreadeth water; while others are so light and unsettled, that their thoughts change as fast as their postures. Some again, at their tavern meetings, take upon themselves in their cups, very freely to censure all writers, and superciliously to condemn whatever they do not like. In this they have an advantage like a bald man, who can catch another by the hair without a fear of a return of the compliment; being, as it were, war-proof, from their incapability of receiving an attack. Others are so thankless, that even when well-pleased with a book, they

think they owe the author nothing; and resemble those rude guests, who, when they have been well entertained and their appetites glutted, depart without even thanking their host. Who would put himself to the charge of preparing a feast for palates so nice, tastes so varying, and guests so thankless!

But do you, dear Peter, clear those points with Raphael, and then it will be time enough to consider of publishing. For since I have been at the pains of writing the piece, if he consent to its publication, I shall follow the advice of my friends, and especially yours. Farewell, my dear Peter; commend me kindly to your good wife, and continue to love me as you used to do, for be assured I love you more and more daily.

UTOPIA.

BOOK I.

HENRY VIII, the redoubted king of England, a prince endowed with all the virtues becoming a great monarch, having some important disputes with Charles, prince of Castile, sent me ambassador to Flanders to treat of and compose these matters. I was associated with and accompanied the incomparable Cuthbert Tonstal, whom the king, to such general satisfaction, lately made master of the rolls. Of him I will say nothing. Not for fear the testimony of a friend should be suspected, but because his learning and virtue are greater than I can do justice to, and so well known that they need not my commendation, unless, according to the proverb, *I would shew the sun with a lanthorn.*

Those appointed by the prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges by agreement. They were all worthy men. The

margrave of Bruges was their chief, and the principal man among them; but George Temse, provost of Casselsee, was esteemed the wisest, and spoke for the rest. Art and nature had combined to make this man eloquent. He was very learned in the law, had a great capacity, and by long practice was become very dexterous at unravelling intricacies. When we had had several meetings without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days, to know their prince's pleasure; and I, since our business permitted it, went to Antwerp.

While there, among many who visited me, one person was more agreeable to me than any other. It was Ægidius, born at Antwerp, a man of great honour, and of good rank in his native city, though of less than he deserves, for I know not where to find a more learned and a better bred youth. Worthy and intelligent, he is so civil to all, so kind to his friends, and so full of candour and affection, that you will very rarely meet with so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest, without artifice, but full of prudent simplicity. His conversation was so pleasant and innocently cheerful, that his company greatly lessened the desire of returning to my country and family, which an absence of four months had occasioned.

One day, as I was returning from mass, I chanced to see him talking to a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age. His face was tanned, his beard long, and his cloak hanging carelessly about him; so that from his ap-

pearance I concluded he was a seaman. When Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to his companion, said, 'do you see that man? I was just thinking of bringing him to you.' 'He should have been very welcome (I answered) on your account.' 'And on his own too (he replied) if you knew the man. For no one alive can give a more copious account of unknown countries, which I know you love.' 'Then (said I) I did not guess amiss, for I took him for a seaman.' 'But you are much mistaken (he said), for he hath been no Palinurus, but another Ulysses, or rather a Plato.'

'This Raphael, whose family name is Hythloday, is not ignorant of Latin, but is eminently skilled in the Greek; having applied himself more particularly to the latter, because he had devoted himself to philosophy, in which he knew the Romans have left us nothing valuable but what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided his estate among his brothers, and shared the hazards of Americus Vesputius, in three of his four voyages, now published. He did not return in the last, but obtained his leave almost by force, to be one of the twenty-four who were left at the farthest place at which they touched in their last voyage to New Castile.

'Leaving him thus, did not a little gratify one who was fonder of travelling, than of returning to be buried in his

own country. For he would often say, *the way to heaven is the same from all places, and who hath no grave hath heaven still over him.* Yet this disposition had cost him dear, had not God been very gracious to him. After he had travelled, with five Castilians, over many countries, at last, by strange good fortune, he got to Ceylon, and thence to Calicut, where he very fortunately found some Portuguese ships, and, beyond all expectation, returned to his country.'

I thanked Peter for his kindness, in intending to bring me acquainted with one whose conversation he knew would be so agreeable to me, and on this Raphael and I embraced. After the usual civilities, we all went to my house, and entering the garden, seated ourselves on a green bank and entertained each other in discourse.

He told us, when Vesputius had sailed, he and his companions who staid in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the natives, meeting them often, and treating them kindly. At last they not only lived among them without danger, but held familiar intercourse with them; and so far obtained the friendship of a prince (whose name and country I have forgotten) that he furnished them plentifully with all necessaries, and even with the conveniencies of travelling—boats and waggons. He gave them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see; and after travelling many days, they came to towns,

cities, and commonwealths, which were both happily governed and well peopled.

About the equator, as far on either side as the sun goeth, lay vast deserts, parched by his perpetual heat. The soil was withered; every thing looked dismal; all places were uninhabited or abounded in wild beasts and serpents, with a few men neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts. But as they proceeded, a new scene presented itself. Nature wore a milder aspect, the air was less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts less wild. At last they found nations, towns, and cities, which had not only mutual and neighbourly intercourse, but traded by sea and land to very remote countries.

The first vessels they saw were flat-bottomed, with sails of reeds and wicker woven closely together, and some of leather. Afterward they met with ships having round keels and canvas sails, like our own, and the seamen understood astronomy and navigation. He obtained their favour greatly by shewing them the needle, with which, till then, they were unacquainted. Formerly they sailed with extreme caution, and only in summer. Now they esteem all seasons alike, and trust wholly to the loadstone, in which plan there is perhaps more imaginary security than real safety; and this discovery, promising so much advantage, may, by their imprudence, become a source of great mischief to them.

But it were tedious to repeat all his observations; and what he repeated concerning the wise and prudent institutions of civilized nations, may perhaps be related on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions on these subjects, to which he replied very willingly; but we made no inquiries about *monsters*, the common subject. For everywhere we may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel cannibals; but it is not so easy to meet with states which are well and wisely governed.

Telling us of many defects in those new countries, he also recounted not a few circumstances which might serve as examples, and enable us to correct errors in our own countries. Of these, as before said, I may give an account at some future time. At present, it is my design only to relate what he told us of the laws and manners of the Utopians. But let me begin with the occasion which led us to speak of that commonwealth.

When Raphael had discoursed for some time, with great judgment, on the many defects in our own and these countries, had treated of the civil institutions here as well as there, and had spoken as distinctly of the government and customs of every country he had passed through, as if he had lived in it all his life, Peter exclaimed in admiration, 'I wonder Raphael you do not enter into some king's service; you would be very acceptable I am sure to any. Your knowledge of men and things is such, that you could not only entertain, but be of great advantage to them,

from the examples you could set before, and the advice you could give, them. And this would be to your own advantage, as well as enable you to serve your friends.'

'For my friends,' he replied, 'I need not feel much concern, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me. For in my days of health, freshness, and youth, I distributed among my kindred and friends, that with which others part not till they be old and infirm: then unwillingly giving away what they can no longer enjoy. My friends, therefore, ought to rest content, and not expect me for their sakes to enslave myself to any king.'

'Softly,' said Peter, 'I mean not that you should be *a slave* to any king, but that you should assist and be useful to one.'

'That is, be if possible more than a slave,' he replied.

'Term it as you will,' said Peter, 'I see no other way in which you can be so useful to your friends and the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier.'

'*Happier!*' replied Raphael. 'Is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? At present I live as I please, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend.

And there be so many who court the favour of the great, that it will be no loss if they be not troubled by me, or those of a temper like mine.'

Here, I said, 'I perceive Raphael you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value such a person more than any who are called *the great*. Yet I think you would act in a manner worthy of so generous and philosophical a spirit as yours, if you applied yourself to public affairs, though it might be a little unpleasant to you. This you could never do so effectually as by entering into the council of some great prince, and putting him (as I know you would do) upon noble and worthy actions; for good and evil flow from a prince over his country as water from a fountain. Your learning without experience, or the experience you have had, without learning, would render you a very proper counsellor for any prince.'

'You are mistaken,' he replied, 'as well in your judgment of me as of the matter in question; for neither have I the talents you imagine, nor, had I them, would the public be one jot the better when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. Most princes think more of military affairs than of the useful arts of peace; and in these I neither have, nor desire to have, knowledge. They are generally more intent on acquiring new kingdoms, than on ably governing those which they possess. Of their ministers, all either are, or think themselves, too wise to need assistance; and if they court any, it is only those to whom their prince shew-

eth personal favour, that they may fix them in their interests. Indeed, nature hath so constituted us, that we all love flattery, and to please ourselves with our own conceits: the very crow loveth her young, and the ape her cubs.

'If in a court like this, where each envies his neighbour, and admires only himself, one should propose what he had read or seen, the rest would think their reputation and interest at stake if they could not run it down. If they had nothing else to allege, they would say, *such things pleased our ancestors, and it were well for us were we but their equals.* They would deem this a sufficient confutation of all that could be urged, as if it were a misfortune that any should be wiser than their fathers; and admitting all that was good in former ages, if aught better were proposed, they would shield themselves under this plea of reverence to past times. I have frequently met with this proud, morose, and absurd judgment, especially once in England.'

'Was you ever in England?' cried I.

'I was,' he answered, 'and staid some months. It was not long after the suppression of the rebellion in the west, with that great slaughter of the poor who were engaged in it. I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, cardinal and chancellor of England; a man, dear Peter (for Mr. More knew

him well) whose wisdom and virtue commanded no less respect than his station. He was of the middle stature, and not yet broken by age; his looks begat reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy but grave. He sometimes took delight in trying those who came to him upon business, by speaking sharply to them, though with decency; and was much pleased when he discovered spirit and presence of mind without rising to impudence, for this resembled his own temper, and he judged it the fittest for business. He spoke with grace and weight, was eminently skilled in law, had a vast understanding, an extraordinary memory; and these rich gifts of nature were improved by study and experience. When I was in England, the king depended much on his counsel, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for he had been trained in business from his youth, and having experienced many vicissitudes of fortune, he had acquired wisdom at no small cost; and she is best retained when dearly purchased.

'One day when I was dining with him, an English lawyer, who happened to be at table, ran out in high commendation of the severity exercised against thieves, who, he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; adding, he could not enough wonder, since so few escaped, that there were yet so many who were stealing everywhere.

'Here I, who took the liberty of speaking freely before

the cardinal, observed, that there was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this mode of punishment was neither just in itself, nor beneficial to the public. The severity of it is too great, and the remedy ineffectual; simple theft not being so great a crime that it ought to cost life, and no punishment, however severe, being able to keep those from robbing who can find no other means of livelihood. 'In this,' I added, 'not only you English, but a great 'part of the world, imitate bad masters, who are readier to 'chastise their scholars than to teach them. Dreadful pu- 'nishments are inflicted on thieves; but it were better to 'make good provisions that all might know how to gain a 'livelihood, and be preserved from the necessity of stealing 'and of dying for it.'

'Care enough hath been taken of that,' said he. 'There be many handicrafts, and there is husbandry. By these they may live, unless they have a greater inclination to follow bad courses.'

'That will not serve your turn,' I replied. 'Many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France. Thus mutilated in the service of their country, they can no longer follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones. But since wars are only accidental, and have intervals, let us consider the occurrences of every day.

'Your numerous nobility are themselves as idle as drones,

subsisting by the labour of their tenants, whom they oppress to extremity to raise their revenues. This indeed is the only instance of their frugality, for in all else they are prodigal even to their own ruin. They have about them a number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they might gain their living. These, as soon as their lord dies, or themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for lords are readier to feed the idle than to relieve the sick, and the heir is frequently unable to keep together so large an establishment as did his predecessor.

'Now when the stomachs of those who are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob keenly; and what else can they do? When, wandering about, they have worn out their clothes and their health, ghastly and ragged, men of quality will not, and the poor dare not maintain them. For one bred in idleness and pleasure, is unfit for the spade and mattock, and will not serve for the wages and diet of the poor.'

'Such men should be particularly cherished,' he replied, for they are the main strength of the armies for which we have occasion. Their birth inspireth them with a higher sense of honour than is to be found in tradesmen and husbandmen.'

'You might as well say,' replied I, 'that you must cherish thieves on account of wars, for you will never want the one while you have the other; and as robbers sometimes

prove gallant soldiers, so soldiers often prove brave robbers.

'But this bad custom, so common among you, of keeping many servants, is not peculiar to this country. France hath yet a more pestiferous crew, for she is full of soldiers, still kept up in time of peace, if such a state can be called peace. And these are kept in pay on the same plea which you urge for those idle retainers about noblemen; it being a maxim of those pretended statesmen, that it is necessary for the public safety to hold a good body, especially veterans, ever in readiness. They think raw men not to be depended upon, and sometimes seek occasions for war to train them in the art of throat-cutting, or, as Sallust saith, to keep their hands in use, that they may not grow dull by intermission.

'But France hath learned to her cost, how dangerous it is to feed such animals. Rome, Carthage, Syria, and many more, ruined and overthrown by standing armies, should be a lesson to others. And the folly of this maxim of the French appeareth even from this; their trained soldiers often find your raw men their masters, on which I will not enlarge, lest you think I flatter the English.

'Every day's experience sheweth, that mechanics and husbandmen, if they be not disabled or dispirited by extreme want, are not afraid of contending with those idle fellows. Thus you need not apprehend, that those well-

shapen, strong men (whom alone the nobility love to hire) at present enfeebled by their modes of life, would be less fit for exertion were they properly bred and employed. And it seemeth very unreasonable, that for the prospect of a war, you should maintain so many idle fellows as to disturb you during peace, a time much more worthy of consideration.

'But I think not that this necessity for stealing ariseth hence only; there is yet another cause of it more peculiar to England.'

'What is that?' said the cardinal.

'The increase of pasture,' replied I; 'by which your sheep, naturally mild and tractable, may now be said to devour men, and unpeople towns and villages. Wherever the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool, there the nobility, gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not content with their old rents, nor thinking it sufficient that, living in indolence, they do no good to the public, resolve on the contrary to harm it. They stop agriculture, destroy houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and inclose grounds for their sheep. As if parks and forests had swallowed too little of the land, these worthies convert the places best inhabited into solitudes.

'For when an insatiate wretch, the plague of his country, resolves to inclose many thousand acres, landlords as

well as tenants are turned out of possession by tricks or main force; or wearied by ill usage they sell at last. Thus men and women, married and single, old and young, with their poor and numerous families (for farming requireth many hands) are compelled to change their residence and know not whither to go. Their effects, little worth at best, they must sell for almost nothing. This little money is soon spent, and then what is left them but to steal and be hanged (God knoweth how justly) or to beg? If they do this, they are imprisoned as idle vagabonds, when they would gladly work, but can obtain no hire; for when no tillage remaineth, there is no need for the labour they have been bred to. One shepherd can tend a flock, which will graze acres that would employ many hands, were they in tillage.

'This likewise, in many places, raiseth the price of corn. And the price of wool is so risen, that the poor, who used to make cloth, are no longer able to buy it, which also leaveth many of them idle. For, since the increase of pasture, the Almighty hath punished the avarice of the land occupiers, by a rot among the sheep, which hath destroyed vast numbers of them. To us it might have appeared more just, had it fallen on the occupiers themselves.

'But should the sheep increase ever so much in number, their price will not fall. They are in so few and such powerful hands, that they will never be sold till the price is raised as high as possible. On the same account other

cattle are so dear. Many villages being destroyed and farming neglected, none make it their business to breed them. The rich breed them not as they do sheep, but buy them lean at low prices, fatten them on their own grounds, and sell them at high rates. I do not believe that all the inconveniencies of this mode are yet observed. For they sell the cattle dear, and if they be consumed faster than the countries where they are bred can supply them, the stock must decrease and great scarcity ensue; and thus your island, which seemed in this particular the happiest place in the world, may suffer much by the cursed avarice of a few.

'Moreover, the increased price of corn maketh all lessen their families as much as they can, and what can the dismissed do but beg or rob? to which latter a great mind is sooner driven than to the former. Luxury likewise breaketh in apace upon you, to promote your poverty and misery. Excessive vanity in apparel prevaileth, and extravagance in diet. And this not only in noble families, but even among tradesmen; among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks. You have also many infamous houses; and, exclusively of those which are known to be such, your taverns and ale-houses are no better. To these add cards, dice, &c. in which money quickly disappeareth, and the initiated must in the end betake themselves to robbery for a supply.

'Banish these evils. Command those who have dis-

peopled so many acres, to rebuild the villages they have destroyed, or to let their lands to those who will do so. Restrain those engrossings of the rich, nearly as bad as monopolies. Leave fewer occasions to idleness, restore agriculture, and regulate the manufacture of wool; that employment may be found for those whom want compelleth to be thieves, or who being now idle vagabonds or useless servants will become thieves at last. If you find not a remedy for these evils, it is vain to boast of your severity in punishing theft; which, though it may wear the appearance of justice, is neither just nor salutary. For if you educate your people ill, and corrupt their manners from their infancy, then punish them for crimes to which they are disposed by education, what is it but to make thieves, and then punish them for being such?'

'While I was speaking, the counsellor was preparing an answer, and intended to recapitulate my discourse with all the formality of debate; on which occasion remarks are generally repeated with more fidelity than they are answered, as if strength of memory were the chief trial.

'You have talked prettily for a stranger (said he), who hath heard of many things among us which he hath not been able duly to consider. But I will explain the whole matter to you, first repeating in due order all you have said. I will then shew you how much your ignorance of our polity hath misled you, and will, lastly, answer all your

arguments. 'That I may begin where I promised: there were four things—'

'Hold your peace (cried the cardinal) this will take up too much time. We will therefore, for the present, save you the trouble of answering, and will reserve this for our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow, if Raphael's and your business will allow of it.

'But, Raphael, (said the cardinal to me) I would know on what ground you think that theft ought not to be punished with death. Would you give way to it, or propose any other punishment more useful to the public? Since death doth not restrain theft, what terror or force could restrain the wicked if they thought their lives safe? Would they not feel the mitigation as an invitation to more crimes?'

'It seemeth very unjust to me (I replied) to take away life for a little money, for nothing can be of equal value with life. And if it be said, that the suffering is not for the money, but for the breach of the law, I answer, extreme justice is an extreme injury. For we ought not to approve of those terrible laws, which make the smallest offences capital, nor of that opinion of the stoics which maketh all crimes equal: as if no difference were to be made between killing a man and taking his purse, between which, in reality, there is the greatest disproportion.

'God hath commanded us *not to kill;* shall we then kill for a little money? And if it be said, the command extendeth not to cases where the laws of the land allow of killing, on the same ground laws may be made in some cases to allow of perjury and adultery. God having taken from us the right of disposing either of our own lives or those of others, if it be pretended that the mutual consent of mankind in framing laws, can authorize death in cases where God hath given us no example, that it supersedeth the obligation of the divine law, and maketh murder lawful, what is this but to prefer human to divine laws? Admit this, and men may in all cases lay what restrictions they please on God's laws.

'If by the Mosaical law, though severe, being made for a stubborn people, fine, and not death, was the punishment for theft, we cannot imagine that in our new and merciful law, in which God treateth us with the tenderness of a father, he hath allowed of greater cruelty than to the Jews.

'On these grounds it is, that I think putting thieves to death, not lawful. And it is obviously absurd, and prejudicial to the commonwealth, that theft and murder should be punished alike. For, if a robber find that his danger is the same, if he be convicted of theft as if he had been guilty of murder, he will be incited to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed; since, the punishment being the same, there is less danger of discovery,

when he who can best make it is killed. Thus, terrifying thieves too much, provoketh them to cruelty.

'But as to the question, *what more convenient punishment can be found*, I think the discovery of this much easier than the invention of any worse mode. Why should we doubt that the method so long in use among the old Romans (who so well understood the arts of government) was very proper. They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes, to work all their lives in quarries, or dig in mines with chains about them.

'But the method I like best, is what I noticed in my travels in Persia, among the Polylerites, a considerable and well governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the king of Persia, but in all other respects are free and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea and are environed with hills; and being content with the produce of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with other nations. And as, according to the genius of their country, they have no inclination to extend their territory, so their mountains and the pension they pay the Persian secure them from invasion. Thus they have no wars. They live conveniently rather than splendidly, and may be called a happy rather than an eminent people; for I believe their very names are unknown to any but their nearest neighbours.

'Those who are found guilty of theft among them, are

bound to make restitution to the owner, and not as elsewhere to the prince; for they reckon that the prince hath no more right to the stolen goods than the thief. But if that which was stolen be no longer in being, then the thief's effects are valued, and restitution being made, the remainder is given to his wife and children, and himself condemned to serve in the public works; but without imprisonment or chains, unless some extraordinary circumstances attend his crime. They go about at liberty, working for the public. If they be idle, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used and treated without any mark of reproach, save that their names are called over at night and they are shut up. They suffer no other hardship, but this of constant labour; for as they work for the public, so are they well provided for out of the public stock, which is managed differently in different places.

'In some places, whatever is bestowed on them is raised by charitable contribution, and though this method might seem precarious, so merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully supplied by it. In other places, public revenues are set aside for them, or there is a poll-tax for their maintenance. In others, they are employed in no public work, but every one who hath occasion for labourers, goeth to the market-place and hireth them of the public, a little cheaper than he would do freemen; and if they prove lazy, he may quicken them with the whip. Thus there is ever some piece of work or other

to be done by them, and beside their livelihood, they earn something for the public.

'They all wear a peculiar habit of a certain colour, their hair is cropt a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them meat, drink, or clothes of the prescribed colour; but if they give them money, it is death to the giver and receiver. Nor is it less punishable for any freeman to take money from them on any account whatever; and it is death for any of these slaves (as they are called) to handle arms. Those of each division of the country are distinguished by a peculiar badge. It is a capital crime if they lay this aside, if they exceed their bounds, or talk to a slave of another jurisdiction. The very attempt at an escape is no less punishable than an escape itself. It is death for any other slave to be accessory to it, and if a freeman engage in it he is condemned to slavery. Those who discover such a design are rewarded; if freemen, with money, if slaves, with liberty, with a pardon for being accessory; that they may find their account in repenting of such an engagement, rather than in persisting in it.

'These are their laws and regulations in regard to robbery; and it is obvious that they are no less advantageous than mild. For not only vice is destroyed and men preserved, but they are treated in a manner to convince them of the necessity of honesty, and of employing their remaining days in repairing the injuries they have formerly

done to society. Nor is there a hazard of their relapsing into their old ways. So little do travellers apprehend from them, that they use them as guides from one district to another. For, they have neither the means of robbing, nor would they reap any advantage by it, being unarmed, and the very possession of money being a conviction of them. And as they are certainly punished, if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape; for their habit differing throughout from what is commonly worn, their only resource could be to go naked, and even then their cropped ear would betray them.

'The only danger to be apprehended was, their conspiring against the government. But one division could do nothing to any purpose, and a general conspiracy of the slaves of the several districts cannot be accomplished, since they cannot meet and talk together. Nor is it likely any would venture on a design where concealment was so dangerous and the discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom, for by their obedience and patience, and by giving reason to believe that they will change their course of life, they may expect it at last. Some are yearly restored to it, on the good character which is given of them.'

'When I had said all this, I added, I saw not why such a method might not be followed, even in England, with more advantage, than could ever be expected from that severe justice which the counsellor so much applauded.

'It could never take place in England,' he replied, 'without endangering the whole country;' and as he said this, he shook his head, made some grimaces, and was silent.

'All the company seemed of his opinion except the cardinal, who said, it was not easy to form a judgment of its success, since it had not been tried. 'But if,' said he, 'when sentence of death is passed on a thief, the prince would reprieve him a while and make the experiment, denying him a sanctuary, and that it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and if it succeeded not, the sentence could be executed at last. I see not,' he added, 'why it would be unjust, inconvenient, or in the least dangerous, to allow of such a delay. Vagabonds, in my opinion, ought to be treated in the same manner; against whom, though we have made many laws, yet have we not been able to gain our end.'

'When the cardinal had said this, they all commended the notion, though they had despised it when it came from me. And they particularly applauded what related to the vagabonds, because it was his own observation. I know not whether it be worth while repeating what followed, for it was very ridiculous. But, as it is not foreign to this matter, and that some good use may be made of it, I will venture to do it.

'A jester stood by, who counterfeited the fool so naturally, that he appeared to be one in reality. His jests were

so cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at them. Yet sometimes he said things, by chance as it were, which were pleasant enough; confirming the old proverb, *he who often throweth the dice will sometimes make a lucky hit.*

'When one of the company had said, I had taken care of the thieves and the cardinal of the vagabonds, so that nothing remained but that some public provision be made for the poor, whom sickness or age disabled from labour; 'Leave that to me,' said the fool, 'I shall take care of them, for there are none whose sight I abhor more, having been so often vexed with them and their complaints. But dolefully as they have told their tale, they could never draw one penny from me; for either I had no mind to give them any thing, or when I had a mind, I had nothing to give them. They now know me so well, that they lose not their labour, but let me pass without troubling me, for they expect nothing, any more in faith than if I was a priest. But I would have a law made for sending all these beggars to monasteries; the men to the Benedictines to be made lay-brothers, the women to be nuns.'

'The cardinal smiled and approved of this in jest, while the rest liked it in earnest.

'A divine was present, who, though a grave man, was so pleased with the reflection on the priests and monks, that he began to joke with the fool, and said to him, *this will not clear you of all beggars, unless you take care of us friars.*

'That is done already,' answered the fool, 'for the cardinal hath provided for you by his proposal for vagabonds.—I know no vagabonds like you.'

'This amused the whole company, who, looking at the cardinal, perceived he was not displeased at it. But the friar, as you may imagine, was vexed, and grew into such passion that he could not help calling the fool, knave, slanderer, backbiter, and son of perdition, and then citing some dreadful denunciations against him from Scripture.

'The jester thought he was now in his element, and laid about him freely. 'Good friar,' he said, 'be not angry, for it is written, *in patience possess your soul.*'

'The friar answered, (I give you his own words), 'I am not angry, you hang-dog, at least I sin not in it, for the Psalmist saith, *be ye angry and sin not.*'

'On this the cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passion.

'No, my lord,' said he, 'I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have. For the holy have had a good zeal, as it is said, *the zeal of thy house hath eaten me up.* And we sing in our church, that those who mocked Elisha as he went up to the house of God, felt the effect of his zeal, which that mocker, that rogue, that scoundrel, will perhaps feel.'

'You do this perhaps with a good intention,' said the cardinal, 'but in my opinion it were wiser, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a contest with a fool.'

'No, my lord,' answered he, 'that were not wisely done, for Solomon, 'the wisest of men, said, *answer a fool according to his folly;* which I now do, and shew him the ditch into which he will fall if he be not aware of it. For if the many mockers of Elisha, only one bald man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of so many friars, among whom are so many bald men? We have moreover a papal bull, by which all who jeer us are excommunicated.'

'When the cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, changed the discourse, and soon afterward arose from table; and, taking leave of us, went to hear causes.

'Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious story, of the length of which I should have been ashamed, had not you earnestly begged it of me, and listened to it as if you had no mind to lose a word. I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it you in detail, that you might observe how those who despised what I had proposed, no sooner perceived that the cardinal did not disapprove of it, than they presently approved it, fawned on and flattered him, till they in good earnest applauded what he liked on-

ly in jest. And hence you may gather, how little courtiers would value either me or my counsels.'

'You have done me,' I answered, 'a great kindness in this relation. For every thing hath been related by you wisely and pleasantly, and you have made me imagine I was in my own country and grown young again, by recalling to my thoughts that good cardinal, in whose family I was bred from my childhood. And though on other accounts you are dear to me, yet are you dearer by honouring his memory so much.

'But, after all you have said, I am still of opinion that if you could overcome your aversion to the courts of princes, you might materially benefit mankind, by the advice you could give; and the benefit of mankind is the chief end which every good man should propose to himself in living. Your friend Plato thought nations would be happy when philosophers became kings, or kings philosophers; no wonder then we are so far from happiness, when philosophers will not think it their duty to assist kings with their counsels.'

'Their minds are not so base,' he replied, 'but they would willingly do it (nay, many of them have done it by their writings), would those in power but listen to their advice. But Plato judged rightly, that except kings themselves became philosophers, being corrupted with false notions from their childhood, they would never consent en-

tirely with the counsels of philosophers; and the truth of this himself experienced in Dionysius.

'Do not you think, if I was about any king, proposing good laws to him and endeavouring to root out all the cursed seeds of evil I could find in him, I should be turned out of his court, or at least laughed at for my pains?

'For instance. What could it signify if I was about the king of France and called into his cabinet council, where several wise men were proposing sundry plans—as, by what arts Milan may be kept, and Naples, which hath so often slipped from his hands, recovered—how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued—then how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, with other kingdoms which he hath already swallowed in his designs, may be added to his empire.

'One proposeth a league with the Venetians, to be preserved as long as he findeth his account in it; and that he should communicate with them and give them a share of the spoil, till his successes render him less dependent on, or fearful of them, and then it may be easily broken.

'Another proposeth hiring the Germans, and securing the Swiss by pensions; another, gaining the emperor by money, his deity. A fourth proposeth a peace with the king of Arragon, and, to cement it, the yielding the king of Navarre's pretensions; a fifth thinketh the prince of

Castile may be wrought upon by the hope of an alliance, and that some of his courtiers are to be gained by pensions.

'The most difficult point is, what is to be done with England? A treaty of peace must be set on foot, and if her alliance be not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible, and she is to be called a friend, but suspected as an enemy. The Scots must be kept in readiness, to be let loose upon her on every occasion; and some banished nobleman, who hath a pretension to the crown, must be supported underhandly (from the league it cannot be done avowedly), that the mistrusted prince may be held in awe.

'Now when matters are in this fermentation, and so many noblemen are joining in council how to carry on the war, if so mean a fellow as I should stand up and wish them to change all their counsels, to leave Italy alone and remain at home, France being a greater kingdom than could be properly governed by one man, and therefore not to be increased—If then I should propose to them the example of the Achorians, a people lying south-east of Utopia, who, long ago, engaged in war, to add another kingdom to the dominions of their prince, to which he had some pretension from an old alliance—

'They conquered it, but found the trouble of keeping it as great as that by which it was gained; that the con-

quered were ever in rebellion or invaded by foreigners, while themselves were constantly at war either for or against them, and could never disband their army; that in the meantime they were oppressed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, they spilt their blood for the glory of their king, without the least advantage to the people, even in time of peace; and that, their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbery and murder everywhere abounded, and their laws fell into contempt, while their king, distracted by two kingdoms, was less able to apply his attention to the interest of either.

'When they saw this, and that there would be no end of these evils, they humbly besought the king to choose whichever of the kingdoms he preferred, since he could not hold both—they would not, they said, be governed by half a king, when no man would willingly share, even a groom with another master. Upon this the good prince made over his new conquest to one of his friends (who was soon afterward dethroned) and contented himself with his old kingdom.

'To this I would add, that, after all these attempts, the confusion, consumption of treasure and people, which must ensue, perhaps, on some misfortune, they might be compelled to give up all at last. It therefore seemed much more eligible, that the king should improve his old kingdom as much as he could and make it flourish, that he should love his people, and be beloved by them; that he

should live among them, govern them mildly, and leave other kingdoms alone, since what had fallen to his share was large enough, if not too large, for him.'

——'How think you, would such a speech as this be relished?'

'Not very well, I believe and confess,' replied I.

'But,' said he, 'what if I fell in with another class of ministers, whose chief object is to increase the prince's treasure. Where one proposeth raising the value of specie when the king is in debt, and lowering it when his revenues come in, that he may pay much with little, and in a little receive a great deal. Another proposeth a pretence of war, that money may be raised to carry it on, and a peace concluded as soon as this is done; and this under such religious pretences, as might work on the people, and make them impute it to the piety of their prince and his tenderness for their lives. A third offereth some musty laws, antiquated by long disuse, and forgotten and broken by all; and proposeth levying the penalties of them, which would bring in much, and there is a good pretence for it, since it would look like executing a law and doing justice.

'A fourth proposeth to prohibit many things under severe penalties, especially such as are against the interest of the people; and then dispensing with these prohibitions on great compositions, to those who might find their advantage

in breaking them. This would answer two ends, both of them acceptable to many. Those whose avarice led them to transgress would be severely fined; and the selling licences dear, would look as if the prince were tender of his people, and would not easily, or at a low rate, dispense with any thing which might be against the public good.

'Another proposeth that the judges be secured, to declare ever in favour of the prerogative; and that they be often sent for to court, to let the king hear them argue those points in which he is concerned. Since, however, unjust any of his pretensions may be, yet some one or other of them, in the spirit of contradiction, the pride of singularity, or to make his court, would find some pretence for giving the king a fair colour for carrying his point. For let the judges but differ in opinion, and the clearest thing in the world becometh disputable; and the truth once brought in question, the king may expound the law to his own purpose, and the judges who stand out will be brought over by fear or modesty. Thus gained, they may all be sent to the bench to give sentence boldly, as the king would have it, for fair pretences will never be wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favour. It will either be said that equity lieth on his side, or some words in the law will be found bearing that sound, or some forced sense will be put upon them. And when all else faileth, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as what is above all law, and to which an upright judge ought to have especial regard.

'Thus all consent to the maxims of Crassus, that a king cannot have sufficient treasure, since he must maintain his armies from it; that, if ever so much inclined that way, he can do no injustice; that all property is vested in him, not even excepting the persons of his subjects; and that no man hath any other property than what the king in his goodness chooseth should remain in his possession. They think it the interest of the prince, that as little should remain so, as may be, as if it was for his advantage, that his people should have neither riches nor liberty; these making them less easy under cruelty and injustice, while poverty breaketh that spirit which might otherwise rebel.

'If, when all these propositions had been made, I should assert, that such counsels are mischievous and unbecoming a king, and that not only his honour, but his safety, consisteth more in his people's wealth than in his own. If I should shew, that they choose a king for their own sake and not for his, that by his exertion and care they may be easy as well as safe; and that therefore a prince ought to be more solicitous of his people's happiness than of his own, as a shepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himself—

'They also are certainly much mistaken who imagine that poverty is a safeguard to a country. Who quarrel more than beggars? Who more earnestly long for a change, than those whose present circumstances are uneasy to them?

And who create confusion so desperately, as those, who having nothing to lose, hope to gain by it?

'Should a king fall into such contempt or envy, that he could not preserve the allegiance of his subjects without oppression and impoverishment, he had better abdicate his throne, than preserve the name, without the dignity of authority; and it is less dignity to reign over beggars, than over rich and happy subjects. The noble Fabricius said, he had rather govern rich men than be rich himself; since for one man to abound in wealth and pleasure, while all around him were groaning, became a jailer but not a king.

'He is an unskilful physician who cannot cure one disorder, without bringing another upon his patient; and the prince who can find no other means of eradicating the evils of a state than that of banishing from it the conveniencies of life, proves that he knoweth not how to govern a free people.

'Let him rather shake off his sloth, or banish his pride; for his people's contempt or hatred ariseth from his own vices. Let him live on his revenue without injuring any, and accommodate his expenditure to it. Let him punish, and endeavour to prevent, crimes, rather than be severe when he hath suffered them to become too common. Let him not rashly revive laws which are abrogated by disuse, especially when they have been long forgotten and not wanted. And let him never exact penalties for the breach

of them, except in cases where a judge would allow a private man to exact them, without imputing to him craft or injustice.

'Here I would add that law of the Macarians, who lie near Utopia, by which their king, on commencing his reign, is bound by an oath, which is confirmed by solemn sacrifices, never to have above a thousand pounds of gold in his treasury at a time, or an equivalent value in silver. This law, they tell you, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to his country's than his own wealth; and therefore provided against the accumulation of treasure to the impoverishment of his people. He thought that sum sufficient for accidents, should the king require it against rebels, or the country against invasion; yet insufficient to encourage the prince to invade the rights of others, his chief object in enacting the law. He also thought it a good security for that free circulation of money, which is the life of commerce. And, when a king is obliged to disburse the accumulations of the treasury beyond a certain sum, it inclineth him less to oppress his subjects. Such a king will be a terror to the wicked and beloved by the good.

——'If, as I said before, I should talk in this strain to men of the other persuasion, would they not be deaf to all I could say?'

'No doubt very deaf,' answered I, 'and no wonder, for it is very wrong to make propositions or give advice which

we are sure will not be received. Such unusual discourse would avail nothing with men prepossessed by different sentiments; and though this philosophical kind of speculation be not unpleasant among friends in free conversation, there is no room for it in the courts of princes, where affairs are conducted *by authority*.'

'This is exactly what I affirmed,' replied he, '*there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes*.'

'Yes there is,' said I, 'but not for this speculative philosophy, which supposeth all things suitable to all occasions There is another philosophy more accommodating, who knoweth her place and accommodateth herself to it, teaching man, with propriety and decency to act the part which hath fallen to his lot. If, at a representation of one of Plautus' comedies, you came in the garb of a philosopher, and repeated from Octavia a discourse of Seneca to Nero, had you not better been silent than make an impertinent tragi-comedy by mixing incongruities, which spoil the play, though what you introduce be perhaps better? Thus, in a commonwealth, and at the councils of princes, if evils cannot be rooted out or cured according to your wish, yet you must not abandon the state, as you would not leave the helm in a storm because you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to attack people with discourses which are out of their way, when you find that their received opinions must prevent your making an impression on them. You ought rather to cast about and manage matters with

all the dexterity in your power, that if you cannot make things go well, you may make them go as little otherwise as possible. Unless all are good, every thing cannot be right; and that is a blessing I have no hopes of seeing at present.'

'By following your counsel,' replied he, 'I should run a violent risk of going mad myself, while endeavouring to cure madness in others. If I will speak the truth, I must repeat what I have already said to you; and whether philosophers can lie, I will not determine; certain I am, I cannot. But though such discourse may be disagreeable to them, I see not why it should seem foolish or extravagant. Indeed, if I should propose such inventions as Plato's in his Commonwealth, or those of the Utopians, though they might seem better, as certainly they be, yet differ they so much from our establishment, founded on property (which is unknown among them) that I could not expect any effect from it. But discourses like mine, which only recal past evils to mind, and warn of what may happen, contain no such absurdity, but they may be used at any time; for they can be unpleasant only to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary way. And if we must pass over as absurd or extravagant every thing which, owing to the wickedness of many, may seem harsh, we must not urge most of those truths which Christ hath taught us, even among Christians; though he hath commanded, we should proclaim on the house-tops what he taught in secret. Most of his precepts oppose themselves to the lives of this age,

more than doth my discourse; but your preachers seem to have learned the craft which you recommend. Observing that the world would not suit their lives to Christ's rules, they have adapted his doctrine (like a leaden ruler) to their lives, that they might agree some way or other. But this compliance hath had no other effect than that men become more secure in their wickedness by it. And this is all the success I can expect in a court; I must ever differ from the rest, so shall be of no signification; had I agreed with them, I should only have promoted their madness.

'I comprehend not what you mean by casting about, or managing matters so dexterously, that if they go not well, they may go as little otherwise as may be; for in courts a man cannot hold his peace, or connive at the actions of others. He must openly approve the worst counsels, and consent to the blackest designs, so that, in your way, he would pass for a spy, or perhaps a traitor, who only coldly acquiesced in such practices. Engaged in such connections, he will be so far from mending matters by *casting about*, as you call it, that he will find no opportunities of doing good. His evil communicants will sooner corrupt him than be benefited by him, or, should he remain innocent, their folly and knavery will be imputed to him; and by joining in their counsels, he must bear his share of all the blame which belongeth wholly to others.

'It is no bad simile by which Plato shewed, how unreasonable it is for a philosopher to meddle with government.

Platonic

If a man,' he says, 'saw a company run daily into the rain with delight, and knew that it would be to no purpose to endeavour to persuade them to return home and avoid the storm, and that all he could expect would be to be as wet as they, it would be best for him to remain at home, and, since he could not correct the folly of others, take care of himself. But, to speak my real sentiment, I must own, as long as there is any property, and money is the standard of all things else, I cannot think that a country can be governed justly or happily. Not justly, for the best things will fall to the lot of the worst men; not happily, for all things will be divided among a few, who are not completely happy, while the rest are left in absolute misery.

'When, therefore, I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians, among whom all things are so well regulated by so few laws; where virtue hath its reward, yet is there such an equality that every man liveth in plenty; when I compare with them so many other nations, which are ever making new laws, yet cannot bring their constitution to a due standard, though every one hath his property; where all the laws they can invent cannot obtain or preserve it, or even enable men to distinguish their own from another's, as the many law-suits, eternally depending, prove; when, I say, I weigh all these things, I incline more and more to Plato's opinion, and wonder not, that he resolved not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things.

Private Property

'So wise a man could not but foresee, that placing all upon a level was the only way to make a nation happy; and this cannot be, so long as there is property. For, when every one draweth to himself all he can, by one claim or other, it must follow, that how rich soever a country may be, yet, a few dividing her wealth among themselves, the rest must become indigent. Thus there will be two descriptions of people among them who deserve an interchange of circumstances; one useless, but wicked and rapacious; the other sincere and modest, serving the public more than themselves by their industry. Whence I am persuaded, that until property be destroyed, there can be no just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed; for while it is maintained, the greater and better part of mankind will be oppressed with care and anxiety.

'I confess, that without destroying it entirely, the oppressions of many may be lightened, but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were enacted to determine at what extent of territory, and what amount of money every man must stop, to limit the prince that he grew not too great, and the people that they became not too insolent, and to prevent any from factiously aspiring to public employments which ought neither to be sold nor made burdensome (for then those who serve them would reimburse themselves by knavery and violence, and it would be necessary to find rich men for those places which ought rather to be holden by the wise); these laws, I say, might

have a similar effect with good diet and care upon a sick man, they might mitigate the disorder, but the body politic could never again be brought to a good habit while property remained; and it will happen, as in a complication of disorders, that, applying a remedy to one part, you will do harm elsewhere.'

'On the contrary,' answered I, 'it appeareth to me that men cannot live conveniently where all things are in common. How can there be any plenty where every man excuseth himself from labour? For the hope of gain exciteth him not, and his confidence in the industry of others may make him slothful. If men be pinched by want, yet cannot dispose of any thing as their own, what can follow but sedition and bloodshed, especially when the authority of magistrates is wanting, for I see not how that can exist among these equals.'

'I do not wonder,' he replied, 'that it appeareth so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no just one, of such a constitution. But had you been in Utopia with me and seen her laws and regulations as I did for five years, (during which I was so delighted with the place, that I should never have left it, but to make the discovery of that new world to Europeans), you would confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted.'

'You will not easily persuade me,' said Peter, 'that any country in that new world is better governed than those

among us. For our understandings are not inferior to theirs, and our government being more ancient (if I mistake not), long practice hath holpen us to many conveniencies of life, and happy casualties have discovered other things which no human understanding could ever have invented.'

'As for the antiquity of either their government or ours,' said he, 'you cannot form a true judgment of it unless you had read their histories; for if these be entitled to credit, they had towns among them before these parts had inhabitants. And as for those discoveries which chance or ingenuity hath made, they might have happened there as well as here. I deny not that we are more ingenious, but they greatly excel us in industry and application. They knew little of us before our arrival among them, and they call us, in general, the nations lying beyond the equinoctial.

'Their chronicle recordeth a shipwreck which happened on their coast twelve hundred years ago, and some Romans and Egyptians reaching the shore, spent their lives among them. Their ingenuity was such, that they acquired from these men, as far as they knew them, all the useful arts then common among the Romans; and from their hints they found out more of those arts, less ably explained to them. But hath such an accident at any time brought any of them into Europe, we, so far from improving, do not even retain the memory of it; as hereafter it will probably

be forgotten that I was ever there. And this is the true cause why they are better governed and live happier than we do, though we fall not short of them in understanding or external advantages.'

On this, I said to him, 'I beg you will describe that island very particularly to us; that is, her soil, rivers, towns, people, manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you think will interest us; and you will easily conceive we have much curiosity about a people so new to us.'

'I willingly comply,' he answered, 'for I have digested the matter with care, but the relation will take up some time.'

'Let us go and dine then,' said I, 'after which we shall have leisure enough.'

He consented, we went to dinner, and afterward returned to the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that we were not interrupted, and Peter and I desired Raphael to perform his promise.

Observing our attention, after a little recollection, he began thus——

END OF BOOK I.

UTOPIA.

BOOK II.

'THE island of Utopia is 200 miles broad in the middle, and over a great part of it, but grows narrower at either end. The figure of it is not unlike a crescent. Eleven miles breadth of sea washeth its horns and formeth a considerable bay, encompassed by a shore about 500 miles in extent, and well sheltered from storms. In the bay is no great current. The whole coast is as it were a continued harbour, affording the whole island every advantage of mutual intercourse. Yet the entrance into the bay, owing to rocks and shoals, is very dangerous.

In the middle is a rock which appeareth above water, on whose top is a tower inhabited by a garrison. The other

rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only by the natives, and a stranger entering the bay without one of their pilots would be in imminent danger of shipwreck. Themselves could not pass it in safety, without certain marks on the coast to direct their way. And if these were a little altered, any fleet coming against them, however large, would certainly be lost. On the other side of the island are likewise many harbours; and the coast is so fortified by nature as well as art, that a small force could hinder the descent of a large army.

Report saith (and marks of its credibility remain) that this island was originally a part of the continent. Utopus, the conqueror of it, and whose name it now bears (having previously been called Abraxa), brought the government and civility of the rude inhabitants to their present highly improved state. Having easily subdued them, he formed the design of separating them from the continent and encompassing them with the sea. To this end, he ordered a deep channel to be dug 15 miles long; and that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves, he not only obliged them, but also his own soldiers to labour at the work. From the number of hands employed, it was finished with dispatch exceeding every man's expectation; and his neighbours, who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, when they saw it accomplished, were struck with admiration and terror.

There are 54 cities in the island, all of them large and

well built. Their laws, manners, and customs, are the same, and they resemble each other as nearly as the ground they stand on will allow. The nearest to each other are at least 24 miles asunder; and the most remote, not above a day's journey on foot. Every city sendeth three of her wisest senators once a-year to Amaurot (the capital of the island, and situate in the center), to consult on their common interests. The jurisdiction of every city extendeth at least 20 miles, and farther where they lie wider asunder. No one desireth to enlarge her boundary, for the people consider themselves in the light of good husbands, rather than owners, of their lands.

They have built farm-houses over the whole country, which are well contrived and furnished with every necessary. Inhabitants for them are sent in rotation from the cities. No family in the country hath fewer than forty men and women in it, beside two slaves. A master and mistress preside over every family, and over thirty families a magistrate. Every year twenty of the family return to town after having been two years in the country, and in their place other twenty are sent to learn country business of those who have been there only one year, and must, in their turn, teach the next comers. Thus, those who live on the farms are never ignorant of agriculture, and commit no fatal errors, such as causing a scarcity of corn.

But, notwithstanding these yearly changes, to prevent any from being compelled against inclination to follow that

hard course of life too long, many of them take such pleasure in it, that they ask leave to continue therein many years. These husbandmen till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and send it to the towns by land or water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinity of chickens in a very curious manner. They are not hatched by hens, but a vast number of eggs are hatched together by means of an equable artificial warmth; and no sooner do the young quit the shell, than they consider their feeder as their dam, and follow man as other chickens do the hen.

They breed few horses, but those they have are high-mettled, and employed in exercising their youth in horsemanship. In the cart and plough they use oxen. For, though their horses be stronger, they find their oxen more patient of labour, subject to fewer disorders, and maintained at less charge and trouble; and when no longer fit for labour, they are good meat at last.

They sow no more corn than they want for their bread, for they drink wine, cider, or perry, and often water, sometimes boiled with honey or liquorice, in which they abound. And though they know exactly how much corn every city and the tract belonging to it require, they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption, giving the overplus to their neighbours. When they want any thing in the country which it doth not produce, they fetch it from the city without carrying any thing in exchange, and the city magistrates take care to see them

supplied. At harvest time, the country magistrates inform those in the city how many reapers they want, which number being supplied, they commonly dispatch the work in a day. He who knows one of their towns, knows them all, they are so much alike unless their situations differ. I will therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as Amaurot: for all the rest yield to it in precedence (it being the seat of supreme council), and I have lived in it five years.

It lieth on the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground. Its figure is nearly a square. For one side, which beginneth a little below the top of the hill, runneth two miles, until it come to the river Anider; but the side which runneth along the bank of that river is a little broader. The Anider riseth about 80 miles above the city, in a small spring, but is afterward joined by other streams, of which two are more considerable than the rest. At Amaurot it is half a mile broad, but still increases, till, after a course of 60 miles below it, it loses itself in the ocean. Between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours with a strong current. The tide cometh up so full for about 30 miles, that the water is salt, and some miles above that it is brackish; but a little higher, as it runneth past the town, it is quite fresh, and at the ebb it continueth fresh to the sea.

A stone bridge is thrown over the river, consisting of many stately arches. It is situate at the part of the town which

is farthest from the sea, that ships may lie along side of the town. There is also another pleasant small river, rising in the same hill on which the town standeth, which runs down through it and falls into Anider. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river (which springeth a little without the town), that if they be besieged, the enemy may not be able to stop, divert, or poison the water. It is carried thence in earthen pipes to the lower streets. And for those parts of the town to which this water cannot be conveyed, they have large cisterns for receiving rain water, which supplieth its place.

The city is compassed with a high thick wall, in which are many forts and towers. A broad and deep dry ditch, set thickly with thorns, guardeth three sides of it, and the river the fourth. The streets are conveniently contrived for carriages, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and so uniform, that the side of a street looketh like one large house. The streets are twenty feet broad. Behind every house is a garden, large, but inclosed by buildings, which face the back part of the street; and every house hath a door to the street and a back door to the garden. They use folding doors, which open with the utmost ease, and shut themselves; and there being no property among them, any person may enter wherever he pleases—they change their very houses by lot every ten years.

They cultivate their gardens with much care, and have

vines, fruits, herbs, and flowers. All is so well ordered and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens so uniting beauty with fertility. This cometh, not only from the pleasure their gardens afford them, but also from an emulation among the inhabitants of different streets, who vie with each other. Nothing belonging to the town is more useful and pleasant, and the founder of the city seems to have had a particular eye to these gardens.

Report saith, the first design of the town was by Utopus. But he left ornament and improvement to his successors, that being more than one man could accomplish. The records of the town and state are preserved with great care, and extend 1760 years backward. By these it appears, that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, with mud walls, any kind of timber, and thatched with straw. At present their houses are three storys high, faced with stone, plaster, or brick, and in the intervals is thrown the rubbish. Their roofs are flat, and they lay on them a kind of cheap plaster, which will not take fire, yet resists weather better than lead. Abounding in glass, they glaze their windows; and use also a thin linen cloth, so oiled or gummed, that it excludes wind while it freely admits light.

Thirty families choose yearly a magistrate, who was formerly called the syphogrant, but now the philarch. Over every ten syphogrants, with these their families each, is another magistrate, formerly called tranibor, now protophi-

larch. The syphogrants, 200 in number, choose the prince from a list of four, named by the people of the four divisions of the city, taking an oath beforehand, that they will choose him whom they think fittest for the office. They vote privately, so that it is not known for whom each giveth his suffrage; and the prince is for life, unless he be removed on suspicion of a design to enslave his people.

The tranibors are newly chosen every year, yet generally continued; while all their other magistrates are annual. They meet every third day (oftener if necessary), and consult with the prince concerning the general interests of the state, or private dissensions among the people, though the latter seldom happen. Two syphogrants are alway called into the council-chamber, and are changed daily. It is a fundamental rule of the constitution, that nothing relative to the public can be concluded, until the matter hath been debated three days in the council. And it is death for any to meet and hold consultation concerning the state, except at their council, or in the general assembly of the people.

This hath been so provided, that the prince and the tranibors may not conspire to change the government and enslave the people. Therefore, when any thing of great importance is on foot, the syphogrants are made acquainted with it, who, when they have communicated it to the families belonging to their divisions, and have considered it themselves, make report to the senate; and on great oc-

casions, the matter is referred to the council of the whole island.

One rule observed in their council is, never to debate a subject on the day on which it is proposed. It is ever referred to the next meeting, for fear of rashness and the heat of argument; which might lead them, instead of consulting the public good, to support their first opinions, and hazard their country rather than endanger their own reputation. To prevent this, they are made deliberate rather than expeditious.

Agriculture is so universally understood among them, that neither man nor woman is ignorant of it. They are instructed in it from their childhood, partly at school and partly by practice, being frequently led into the fields near the town, where they not only see others at work, but become exercised in it themselves. Beside agriculture, so common to them, every man hath some peculiar trade, as the manufacture of wool or flax, masonry, smith's or carpenter's work. No other trade is in great esteem among them. Throughout the island they wear one sort of clothes, without any other distinction than what is necessary for different sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never changes, is easy and agreeable, suited to the climate, and for summer as well as winter.

Every family maketh clothes for itself; and women as well as men all learn some one of the trades before men-

tioned. The women generally engage in the wool and flax, leaving the ruder trades to the men. One trade is generally followed by father and son, their inclinations often agreeing. But if any man's genius pointeth another way, he is adopted into a family professing the trade he prefers, and care is taken by his father and by the magistrate that his master be a proper person. If, when one hath learned a certain trade, he desire to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed as before. And when he hath learned both, he follows that which he prefers, unless the public hath more occasion for one than the other.

The chief and almost only business of the syphogrants, is to take care that no man liveth idly, but that every one followeth his trade diligently. Yet they exhaust not themselves with perpetual toil from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden; which is indeed a heavy slavery, yet the common course of life among all mechanics save the Utopians. But, dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, they appoint six for work, three before and three after dinner. They then sup, and at eight o'clock, reckoning from noon, they go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of his time is left to every man's discretion. Yet they are not to dissipate the interval in luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise, according to their various inclinations, which is generally reading.

They have public lectures every morning before day-

break. None are obliged to attend, except those who are appointed to literary professions; yet many women as well as men go to hear lectures of one sort or other, according to their inclinations. If others, not formed for contemplation, prefer employing themselves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are commended as subjects desirous of serving their country.

After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in the garden, and in winter in their halls, entertaining each other with music or discourse. They have no idea of dice, or of any foolish and mischievous game. They have, however, two games not unlike our chess. The one, a battle of numbers, in which number consumes number. The other, a contest between the virtues and vices, in which the discord among the vices themselves and their union against virtue is not unpleasantly represented; together with the particular opposition between certain virtues and vices, and the methods in which vice openly assaults, or secretly undermines virtue, and virtue resists.

The time appointed for labour must be narrowly examined, or, as you may conceive, since only six hours are appropriated thereto, a scarcity of the necessaries of life might ensue. But this time is so far from being insufficient for supplying them with necessaries and conveniencies, that part of it is superfluous, as you may apprehend by considering how large a proportion of all other nations is totally idle.

In the first place, women generally do little, and they are half of mankind; and if a few women be diligent, their husbands are idle. Then consider the great number of idle priests, and what are called religious persons. Add to these the rich, those chiefly who have landed property, called noblemen and gentlemen, with their families of idle persons, kept for show rather than use. Then add those strong and lusty beggars who go about pretending disease in extenuation of begging. On the whole, you will find that the number of those, by whose labour mankind is supplied, is much smaller than you imagine.

Next, consider how few of those who work are employed in labours of real utility. For we, who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades which are vain and superfluous, and which serve only to support riot and luxury. If the labouring part of mankind were employed only on the necessaries of life, these would so abound, that their price would fall, and the tradesman could not be maintained. But if all they who labour in useless avocations were more profitably employed, and all they who languish out their lives in idleness and sloth (each of whom consumeth as much as two of the laborious), were compelled to labour, you may readily conceive, that little time would accomplish all that is necessary, profitable, or agreeable to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within due bounds.

This is proved in Utopia. For there, in a large city, and

in all the territory about it, you can scarcely find 500 either men or women, who, from their age and strength, are capable of labour, and are not engaged in it. The very syphogrants, though excused by law, excuse not themselves, but work that their example may incite the industry of the rest. A similar exemption is allowed to those who are recommended to the people by the priests, and privileged from labour by the private suffrages of the syphogrants, that they may devote themselves wholly to study. But if any of them fall short of the hopes they seemed to give, they are obliged to return to manual labour. And sometimes a mechanic, who so employs his leisure as to advance considerably in learning, is raised to the rank of one of their learned. From these they choose their ambassadors, priests, tranibors, and the prince himself, formerly called their Barzanes, but of late their Ademus.

Thus, from the number among them who are neither suffered to be idle nor to be uselessly employed, you may estimate how much may be done in their few hours of labour. But beside this, we are to remember that the useful arts are managed with less labour among them than elsewhere. The building or repair of houses employeth many hands with us. For a thriftless heir often suffers the house his father built to fall into decay, and his successor is at great cost to repair what might have been kept up at small expence. It often happens too, that the house which one person built at a great expence, is neglected by another who thinks he hath better taste in architecture, and, let-

ting it go to ruin, builds another at no less expence. But among the Utopians, all is so regulated, that they seldom require new building-ground. They not only repair their houses with great expedition, but shew much skill in preventing their decay; and their buildings are preserved very long with little labour. Thus too, their builders are often without employment, except in hewing timber and squaring stone, in case of wanting to raise a building on a sudden emergency.

As for their clothes, observe how little labour is spent on them. While at work, they wear loose dresses of leather and skins, which will last seven years. When they appear in public, they put on an upper garment which hides the other. These garments are all of one colour, the natural one of the wool. They need less woollen cloth than is used anywhere else, and what they use is much less costly. Of linen cloth they use more, but it is made with less labour; and they value cloth only from the whiteness of the linen or cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread. While in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colours, and as many silken vests, are hardly sufficient, and while the nicer sort think ten too few, here every man is content with one, which often lasteth him two years. Nor is there any temptation to desire more; for no man would be the warmer, nor make one jot the better appearance for them.

Thus, employed in useful labour, and content with little,

abundance of all things prevaileth among them. It frequently happens indeed, that for want of other work, numbers of them are sent out to repair the highways. But when no public call requires their attendance, the hours of labour are curtailed. The magistrates never impose unnecessary labour on the people. For, the chief end of the constitution is, to regulate labour by the public wants, and to allow all as much time as possible for mental improvement, in which they judge the happiness of life to consist.

But it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their commerce and regulations.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those who are nearly related to each other. Their women, as they grow up, are married into other families. But the males, children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to the common parent; unless age hath weakened his understanding, and then the next in age supplieth his place. But due care is taken that no city become too populous, or be dispeopled. No city may contain above 6000 families beside those of the circumjacent country. And no family may have less than ten, or more than sixteen, persons in it; without any limitation for the children under age. This rule is easily observed, by removing some of the children of a more fruitful couple to a less abundant family.

In the same way, they supply cities which increase not so fast, from others which people themselves faster. And if there be any extraordinary increase over the whole island, they select a number of citizens from the several towns, and send them to the neighbouring continent. Where, if they find the inhabitants have more soil than they can well cultivate, they plant a colony and take them into their society. And if these inhabitants be willing to live with them, enter into their mode of life, and conform to their regulations, it proveth a happiness to both; for by their laws such care is taken of the soil, that it becometh fruitful enough for both, although it might have been insufficient for either. But if the natives refuse to conform themselves to their laws, they drive them out of the boundary which they mark for themselves, and use violence if they resist. They esteem a very just warfare, the dispossession of others from soil which they leave idle and uncultivated; every man having a natural right to such a waste portion of earth, when necessary to his subsistence.

If any accident so lessen the number of inhabitants in a town that it cannot be supplied from the other towns of the island without diminishing them too much (which is said to have happened but twice since they were a people, and then by the plague), it is made-up by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies. For they abandon these rather than suffer the towns in the island to be deficient.

But to return to their manner of living. The oldest man of every family, as already said, presides in it. Wives obey their husbands, and children their parents, junior ever serving senior. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each is a market-place. What is manufactured by the several families and brought thither, is carried to houses appointed for that purpose. In these, all things of one kind are laid together, and every father goeth thither and taketh whatever he or his family need, without paying for it, or leaving any exchange. There is no reason for giving any one a denial, since they have such plenty of all things. And there is no danger of any one asking for more than he needeth; for, being sure they shall alway be supplied, they have no inducement of the kind.

It is the fear of want which rendereth any animal greedy or ravenous. And beside this fear, there is a pride in man which maketh him esteem it a glory to excel his fellow-creature in pomp and excess. The laws of Utopia leave no room for these feelings.

Near these markets, are others for every kind of provision. Here are herbs, fruits, bread, fish, fowl, and cattle. Without their towns, are appointed places, near a running stream, for killing their beasts, which is done by their slaves. They allow none of the citizens to kill their cattle, thinking that pity and good nature (which are among the best of the affections born in us) are greatly impaired by butchering animals. Nor do they suffer any thing foul or

unclean to be brought into their towns, lest the air be infected with ill scents which might injure their health.

In every street are spacious halls, lying at equal distances from each other, and distinguished by particular names. The syphogrants dwell in them, with their thirty respective families, fifteen lying on one side of it, and as many on the other; and here they meet and hold their repasts. The steward of each goeth to the market at an appointed hour, and taketh home provision according to the number belonging to his hall.

But they take the greatest care of their sick; who are lodged and provided-for in public hospitals. They have four of these to every town, built without the walls, and so spacious, that they are like little towns. By this mean, had they ever so many sick, they could lodge them conveniently, and so far apart, that no apprehension of infection could arise from those labouring under contagious disorders. The hospitals are provided with every thing necessary for the ease and restoration of the sick. And the patients are looked after with such tenderness and solicitude, and are so constantly attended by their skilful physicians, that as none are sent thither against their inclinations, so is there scarcely one person in a whole town, who, should he be taken ill, would not choose rather to go thither than lie at home.

When the steward of the hospitals hath taken for the

sick whatever the physician prescribes, the best things left in the market are distributed to the halls in proportion to their numbers; first serving the prince, the chief priest, the tranibors, ambassadors, and strangers, if any among them. The last indeed seldom happens; yet have they well furnished houses, particularly appointed for their reception when they come.

At the hours of dinner and supper, the whole syphogranty being assembled by trumpet, they meet and eat together, excepting only those who are in the hospitals or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are supplied, no man is hindered from carrying home provision from the market-place, for they know that no one doth it except for some good reason. For, though any one who pleaseth may eat at home, no one doth it from inclination, it being absurd to prepare a bad dinner at home, when a much more plentiful one is ready for him so near his residence.

The unpleasant and sordid services about these halls, are performed by their slaves. But dressing their meat and ordering their tables belong to the women, every family taking it by rotation. They sit at three or more tables according to their number, the men toward the wall, the women on the outside. Thus, if any of the women be taken suddenly ill (which is not uncommon when they are in a state of pregnancy), she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nursery, where are nurses with the unweaned infants, clean water, cradles, and a fire.

Every child is nursed by its own mother, unless death or sickness prevent. In that case the syphogrants' wives quickly provide a nurse, which is no difficulty, as any woman who can do it, offereth herself cheerfully. And, to make her amends, the child she nurseth considereth her as its mother.

The children under five sit among the nurses. The other young of either sex, until marriageable, serve those who sit at table, or, if unequal to that in strength, stand by them in silence and eat what is given them. Nor have they any other particular form at their dinners.

In the middle of the first table, which standeth across the upper end of the hall, sit the syphogrant and his wife, that being the most conspicuous place. Next to him sit two of the oldest, there being throughout four in a mess. If there be a temple within that syphogranty, the priest and his wife sit with the syphogrant above the rest. Next to them come a mixture of old and young, so distributed, that though near to others of their own age, they are mingled with the elders. This, they say, was so instituted, that the gravity of the old, and the respect due to them, might restrain the young from all indecent words and gestures.

The dishes are not served to the whole table at first, but the best are set before the old (whose seats are distinguished from the young), and after them all the rest are served

alike. The elders distribute to the young any choice meats which happen to be set before them, if there be not such an abundance of them that the whole company may share them alike. Thus the aged are honoured with particular marks of respect, and yet all the rest fare as well as they do.

Dinner, as well as supper, is begun with some moral lecture which is read to them, but which is so short that it cannot be deemed tedious. Hence, the old take occasion to entertain those about them with some useful and amusing amplifications. Yet they engross not the whole conversation, but rather engage the young in it, that they may discover their spirit and temper. They dispatch their dinners quickly, but sit long at supper, for they go to work after the one, and sleep after the other; and sleep they think promotes digestion. They never sup without music, and fruit is ever served up after their meat. While they are at table, perfumes are burned, and fragrant ointments and sweet waters sprinkled about the room. In short, they want nothing which may cheer their spirits; and allow themselves great latitude this way, indulging in every pleasure which is unattended with inconvenient consequences.

Thus live the inhabitants of the towns. In the country, where they live at considerable distances asunder, every one eats at home, and no family is without necessary provision; for from them are sent provisions to those living in the towns.

If any person have a mind to visit his friends in another town, or desire to travel and see the rest of the country, he easily obtains leave from the syphogrant and tranibors, when he is not wanted at home. A traveller carries a passport from the prince, which certifies the liberty granted him, and the time of his return. He is furnished with a waggon, and a slave to drive and attend the oxen. Unless there be women in the company, the waggon is sent back at the end of the journey as a useless incumbrance. They carry no provision with them for the road, yet want nothing, being everywhere treated as if at home.

If any one stay in a strange place longer than a day, he pursueth his proper occupation, and is very well used by his fellow tradesmen. But if he leave his own city without permission, and be found rambling without a passport, he is treated with severity, punished as a fugitive, and sent home in disgrace; and if he commit the same offence again, he is condemned to slavery. If any one have a mind to travel merely over the district of his own city, he may freely do it, with his father's permission and his wife's consent. But, if he expect to be entertained at any of the country houses, he must labour with them and conform to their rules. And if he do this, he may freely traverse the whole district, being thus as useful to his city as if he was in it.

Thus you see, there are no idle people among them, nor any pretences for excusing any individual from labour. They have no taverns, ale-houses, or brothels, nor any other

mediums of corruption, of gathering in corners, or forming parties. All live in full view, and all are obliged to do their duty and employ well their leisure. And it is certain, that a nation thus regulated must enjoy great abundance of all things; which being equally distributed, no one can want or be obliged to beg.

At their great council at Amaurot (to which three from every town are sent yearly), they examine what towns abound in provisions, and in which is any scarcity; that the one may be supplied from the other. And this is done without any exchange; for according to their plenty or scarcity, they supply or are supplied, so that the whole island is, as it were, one family.

When they have thus taken care of their country, and laid up store for two years (which they do to prevent the ill consequences of a bad season), they order an exportation of the overplus of corn, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather, and cattle. These they commonly ship abroad in large quantities, and order a seventh to be given to the poor of those countries, and the rest to be sold at moderate prices. By this mean, they not only import in return the few things they want at home (for indeed they scarcely want any thing beside iron), but also a large quantity of gold and silver; and it is hardly to be imagined how vast a treasure they have amassed, by driving this trade a long time. So that it is now almost indifferent to them whether they sell their goods for ready money or on credit.

A great part of their property is in bonds; but in their contracts, no individual is bound, but a whole town. These towns collect it from their individual debtors, lay it up in their public chamber, or enjoy the use of it till the Utopians call for it; who prefer leaving the greater part of it in the hands of those who make advantage of it, to calling for it themselves. But if they see that any others stand more in need of it, they call it in and lend it to them.

Whenever they engage in war, which is the only occasion on which this treasure can be usefully employed, they make use of it themselves. On great emergencies, or sudden accidents, they employ it in hiring foreign troops; whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people. They pay these mercenaries extravagantly, well knowing the effect it will have, even on their enemies; that it will induce them to betray or desert, and is the best mean of raising mutual jealousies among them. With this view they keep an incredible treasure, which they value not as such, but place it in a light I am almost afraid of describing; for, had I not seen it myself, I could not have believed it.

All things appear incredible to us, as they differ more or less from our own manners. Yet one who can judge aright will not wonder, that since their constitution differeth so materially from ours, their value of gold and silver also, should be measured by a very different standard. Having no use for money among themselves, but keeping it as a

provision against events which seldom happen, and between which are generally long intervals, they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use. Thus it is plain, they must prefer iron to either silver or gold. For we want iron nearly as much as fire and water, but nature hath marked out no use so essential for the other metals, that they may not easily be dispensed with. Man's folly hath enhanced the value of gold and silver because of their scarcity; whereas nature, like a kind parent, hath freely given us the best things, such as air, earth, and water, but hath hidden from us those which are vain and useless.

Were these metals to be laid-up in a tower, it would give birth to that foolish mistrust into which the people are apt to fall, and create suspicion that the prince and senate designed to sacrifice the public interest to their own advantage. Should they work them into vessels or other articles, they fear that the people might grow too fond of plate, and be unwilling to melt it again, if a war made it necessary. To prevent all these inconveniencies, they have fallen upon a plan, which agrees with their other policy, but is very different from ours; and which will hardly gain belief among us who value gold so much and lay it up so carefully.

They eat and drink from earthen ware or glass, which make an agreeable appearance though they be of little value; while their chamber-pots and close-stools are made of gold and silver; and this not only in their public halls, but in

their private houses. Of the same metals they also make chains and fetters for their slaves; on some of whom, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of the same metal. And thus they take care, by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem. Hence it is, that while other countries part with these metals as though one tore-out their bowels, the Utopians would look upon giving-in all they had of them, when occasion required, as parting only with a trifle, or as we should esteem the loss of a penny.

They find pearls on their coast, and diamonds and carbuncles on their rocks. They seek them not, but if they find them by chance, they polish them and give them to their children for ornaments, who delight in them during their childhood. But when they come to years of discretion, and see that none but children use such baubles, they lay them aside of their own accord; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterward, as grown children among us would be of their toys.

I never saw a more remarkable instance of the opposite impressions which different manners make on people, than I observed in the Anemolian ambassadors, who came to Amaurot when I was there. Coming to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several cities met to await their coming. The ambassadors of countries lying near Utopia, knowing their manners,—that fine clothes are in no esteem with them, that silk is despised, and gold a

badge of infamy,—came very modestly clothed. But the Anemolians, who lie at a greater distance, having had little intercourse with them, understanding they were coarsely clothed and all in one dress, took it for granted that they had none of that finery among them, of which they made no use. Being also themselves a vain-glorious rather than a wise people, they resolved on this occasion to assume their grandest appearance, and astonish the poor Utopians with their splendour.

Thus three ambassadors made their entry with 100 attendants, all clad in garments of different colours, and the greater part in silk. The ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in clothes of gold, adorned with massy chains and rings of gold. Their caps were covered with bracelets, thickly set with pearls and other gems. In a word, they were decorated in those very things, which, among the Utopians, are either badges of slavery, marks of infamy, or play-things for children.

It was pleasant to behold, on one side, how big they looked in comparing their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who came out in great numbers to see them make their entry; and on the other, how much they were mistaken in the impression which they expected this pomp would have made. The sight appeared so ridiculous to those who had not seen the customs of other countries, that, though they respected such as were meanly clad (as if they had been the ambassadors), when they saw the am-

bassadors themselves, covered with gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and shewed them no respect. You might have heard children, who had thrown away their jewels, cry to their mothers, *see that great fool, wearing pearls and gems as if he was yet a child;* and the mothers as innocently replying, *peace, this must be one of the ambassador's fools.*

Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed, they were of no use. For their slaves could easily break them; and they hung so loosely, that they thought it easy to throw them away. But when the ambassadors had been a day among them, and had seen the vast quantity of gold in their houses, as much despised by them as esteemed by others; when they beheld more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave, than in all their ornaments; their crests fell, they were ashamed of their glory, and laid it aside; a resolution which they took, in consequence of engaging in free conversation with the Utopians, and discovering their sense of these things, and their other customs.

The Utopians wonder that any man should be so enamoured of the lustre of a jewel, when he can behold a star or the sun; or that he should value himself upon his cloth being made of a finer thread. For, however fine this thread, it was once the fleece of a sheep, which remained a sheep notwithstanding it wore it.

They marvel much to hear, that gold, in itself so useless, should be everywhere so much sought, that even men, for whom it was made, and by them hath its value, should be less esteemed. That a stupid fellow, with no more sense than a log, and as base as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him because he possesseth a heap of it. And that, should an accident, or a law-quirk (which sometimes produceth as great changes as chance herself), pass this wealth from the master to his meanest slave, he would soon become the servant of the other, as if he was an appendage of his wealth, and bound to follow it.

But they much more wonder at and detest the folly of those, who, when they see a rich man, though they owe him nothing, and are not in the least dependent on his bounty, are ready to pay him divine honours because he is rich; even though they know him at the same time to be so covetous and mean-spirited, that notwithstanding all his wealth, he will not part with one farthing of it to them as long as he liveth.

These and the like notions hath this people imbibed, partly from education (being bred in a country whose laws and customs oppose such follies) and partly from their studies. For though there be few in any town, who are so wholly excused from labour, as to devote themselves entirely to study (these being such only as from their infancy discover an extraordinary capacity and disposition for let-

ters), yet their children, and many of their grown persons of both sexes, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work in reading. And this they do through their lives.

All their learning is in their own language, which is copious and pleasant, admitting of the fullest expression of ideas. It is spoken over a vast tract of country, but is not equally pure everywhere. They had not even heard the names of any of those philosophers who are so celebrated in these parts of the world, before we went among them; yet they had made the same discoveries as the Greeks in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry.

Equal in almost every thing to the ancient philosophers, they greatly excel our modern logicians; for they have never yet fallen into those barbarous subtleties which youth are obliged to learn in our trifling logical schools. They nevertheless know astronomy, and have many excellent instruments for ascertaining the course and position of the heavenly bodies. But as for divining by the stars, their oppositions or conjunctions, this hath never entered their thoughts.

They have particular skill, founded on much observation, in judging of the weather; and know when to expect rain, wind, or other changes. But as for the philosophy of these things, the saltness of the sea, its ebb and flow, and the original and nature of the earth and heavens, they dis-

pute of them, partly in the manner of our ancient philosophers, and partly on new hypotheses; in which they not only differ from them, but agree not entirely among themselves.

In regard to moral philosophy, they have the same disputes as we have. They examine what is properly good for the body and mind, and whether any thing external can be called truly good, or if that term be appropriate to the soul. They inquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure. But their chief dispute is concerning man's happiness, and wherein it consists, whether in one thing or in many. They incline indeed to the opinion which placeth, if not the whole, yet a great part of human happiness in pleasure; and, what may seem more strange, they derive arguments from religion, notwithstanding her restrictions, in support of that opinion. For they never dispute of happiness, without drawing arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason; esteeming all our inquiries after happiness but conjectural and defective without the former.

Their religious tenets are these. The soul of man is immortal,—God of his goodness hath designed it should be happy; he hath therefore appointed reward for virtue and punishment for vice, after this life. Though these principles be handed down to them traditionally, they think reason herself determineth man to believe and acknowledge them; and that, were they removed, no man would be so

insensible as not to seek pleasure by all possible means, lawful or otherwise; taking care only, that a less pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that none ought to be pursued which should incur much pain. For they deem it the excess of madness to pursue virtue, a sour and difficult pursuit, and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, without a prospect of reward. And what reward can there be for one who hath passed his life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there be no expectation after death?

Yet they place not happiness in every kind of pleasure, but in that only which is honest and good. One party among them placeth happiness barely in virtue; another thinketh our nature is conducted by virtue to happiness, as man's chief good. They define virtue, *living according to nature*, and think we are created for that end. They believe man to follow nature when he followeth reason; and say that the first dictate of reason is love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe all we have and all we can hope for.

Secondly, reason directs us to keep our minds as free from passion, and as cheerful as we can; and that we should consider ourselves bound by the ties of good-nature and humanity, to use our utmost endeavours in promoting the happiness of others. For no one was ever so severe a pursuer of virtue and enemy to pleasure, that though he

prescribed hard rules, pain, watchings, and other rigours, yet did not at the same time advise men to do all they could in relieving misery; and who did not represent gentleness and good-nature as amiable dispositions. Hence they infer, that if man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of his fellow-creatures, since no virtue is more peculiar to our nature than to relieve the misery of others, and to furnish them with the comforts of life, in which pleasure consists, nature will more strongly incline him to do this for himself.

A life of pleasure is either a real evil (in which case we ought not to assist others in the pursuit of it, but deter them from it); or, if it be a good, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why should not man begin with himself? No man can be bound to look more after the good of another than after his own; for nature cannot direct us to be kind to others and at the same time cruel to ourselves. Thus, they define virtue to be, *living according to nature*, and imagine that nature prompts all to seek pleasure as the chief end of their actions.

They also observe, that to support the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to society. For no man is so much raised above his fellows, as to be nature's only favourite; on the contrary, she seems to have placed on a level all who belong to one species. Hence they infer, that no one ought to seek his own convenience to the prejudice of others; and therefore think, that not only all agreements between

individuals ought to be observed, but likewise the laws which either a good prince hath publicly enacted, or to which a people, neither oppressed by tyranny, nor circumvented by fraud, hath agreed, for rendering us the conveniencies of life in which our pleasures consist.

They think it a proof of wisdom if man pursue his own advantage as far as the law alloweth him. They also account it piety to prefer the public good to individual interest; but esteem it unjust for man to pursue his own pleasure to the detriment of that of his neighbour. On the contrary, they deem it a mark of a good and gentle soul, if he dispense with his own advantage for the benefit of others; and that, by this mean, a good man reapeth as much pleasure as he deprives himself of. For, he may expect the like when he needeth it; and should that fail, yet the sense of a good action, and his reflections on the love and gratitude of those he hath obliged, afford the mind greater pleasure than the body would have experienced in the enjoyment of that which it withstood. They are also persuaded that God will repay the loss of those small pleasures with a vast and endless joy; a circumstance of which religion easily convinceth a good soul.

Thus, on a general inquiry, they esteem all our actions, and even all our virtues, to terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness; and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which nature teacheth us to delight, a pleasure. Thus they carefully limit

pleasure to those appetites only to which nature leadeth; for she leadeth, they say, to those delights only, to which sense as well as reason point, by which we neither injure another, lose not greater pleasures, nor superinduce inconveniencies. But they look upon those delights which men, by a foolish, though common mistake, call pleasure (as if they could change the nature of things as easily as terms), as greatly obstructing instead of advancing their real happiness. For these so entirely possess the minds once captivated by them with false notions of pleasure, that no room is left for that of a truer and purer kind.

There are many things having nothing in themselves truly delightful, but on the contrary much bitterness, which yet, from our perverse appetites for forbidden objects, we not only rank among the pleasures, but make them the greatest designs of life. Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, the Utopians reckon such as I mentioned before, who imagine themselves really the better for having fine clothes. In this they think them doubly mistaken, as well in the opinion they have of their clothes, as in that they have of themselves. For if you consider the *use* of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet these men, as if they enjoyed real advantages above others, and did not owe them to their mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves more valuable, imagine a respect to be due them on account of a rich coat, to which they would not have pretended had

they been more meanly clad, and even resent it as an affront if that respect be not shewn them.

But it is not equal folly to be solicitous about outward marks of respect, which signify nothing? For what real pleasure can a man find in seeing another take off his hat and make bows to him? Will the bending another's knee give ease to yours; or the uncovering his head cure the madness of thine? Nevertheless, it is wonderful to see how this false idea of pleasure bewitcheth many. How they delight themselves with the fancy of their nobility, and are pleased with the conceit of having ancestors who have been deemed for some successions rich,—for this is all that at present constitutes nobility. Yet they consider not themselves a whit the less noble, though their immediate parents bequeathed none of this wealth to them, or though themselves have squandered it all.

The Utopians have no better opinion of those who are enamoured of gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness almost divine if they can purchase a *very extraordinary* one, especially if it be of the sort then in fashion. For the same sort doth not alway bear the same value with them, and none are bought without being taken out of the setting. The jeweller is then required to find security, and to swear solemnly that the stone is a true one. Yet if you saw them, your eye could discover no difference between the counterfeit and the true; and there-

fore the pleasure they afford you is the same, as much as if you were blind.

Moreover, can it be thought that they who amass wealth, not for any service it is to do them, but to please themselves with the contemplation of it, derive any true pleasure from it? The delight they find is a vain shadow of joy. Nor is the pleasure of those better, though their mistake be somewhat different, who hide wealth for fear of losing it. For what other name than mistake, deserves the hiding it in the earth, or rather restoring it to earth again; since it is thus cut off from being useful either to its owner or the rest of mankind? And yet the owner, having hidden it carefully, rejoiceth because he thinks he is now sure of it. Should it be stolen, and he live ten years in ignorance of the theft, he would be no sufferer, for in either case it was equally useless to him.

Among these foolish pursuers of pleasure also, they reckon all who delight in sporting or gaming; of whose madness they have heard, but have no such persons among them. They inquired of us, what pleasure it was that men found in throwing dice; for was there any, they think the frequent repetition of it would create a surfeit. What pleasure, they likewise asked, can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which seem odious rather than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing a dog run after a hare, to be greater than that of seeing one dog run after another. For, if seeing them run

giveth the pleasure, you have the same entertainment in either case. But if the pleasure consist in seeing the hare torn by the dogs, it ought rather to excite pity, that a weak, harmless, timid hare, should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel dogs.

On this account, all the business of hunting is, by the Utopians, transferred to their butchers, who, as hath been observed, are all slaves; and they esteem hunting one of the basest of a butcher's employments. For they account it more profitable and becoming to kill the beasts which are more useful to man; since the tearing so miserable an animal, can only attract the huntsman by a false shew of pleasure, from which he can reap little advantage. The desire of shedding the blood even of beasts, they esteem the mark of a mind already corrupted with cruelty; or at least, that the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure, must degenerate into such a disposition.

Thus, though the mass of mankind esteem these, and many other things of like nature, pleasures, the Utopians, seeing there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude they are not to be reckoned among pleasures. For though these things may afford the senses a degree of irritation (which appears to be a just idea of pleasure), yet they imagine this ariseth not from the thing itself, but from a depraved habit, which may so far vitiate taste, that bitter shall appear sweet. Thus pregnant women may imagine pitch or tallow to be sweeter than honey. But as the senses,

though themselves corrupted by disease or bad habit, change not the nature of things, so neither can they change the nature of pleasure.

The Utopians count many pleasures true ones, some of them bodily, others mental. Those of the mind, consist in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth affords. To these they add the joyful reflections of a well spent life, and the assured hopes of happiness in a future state.

Bodily pleasures, they divide into two kinds. One kind, is the pleasure afforded our senses by recruiting nature, as by eating and drinking; or relieving her when she is surcharged, oppressed, or in pain; or gratifying the appetite which she hath implanted in us for her own end, the continuation of our species. There is also another kind of pleasure, which ariseth neither from recruiting nor relieving nature, yet doth it, by a furtive virtue, affect the senses, raise the passions, and make generous impressions on the mind; this is the pleasure arising from music.

The other kind of bodily pleasure, is that arising from a vigorous consitution of body, in which life and spirit seem to invigorate every part. This high degree of health of itself affordeth pleasure, independently of external objects of delight; and though it may not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the senses as some of the others, it may be esteemed the greatest pleasure of all. Almost all

the Utopians reckon it the foundation of all the other joys of life; since it alone maketh life easy and desirable, and without it, man is in reality capable of no other pleasure.

They look upon freedom from pain, if unaccompanied by perfect health, a state of dullness rather than of pleasure. This subject hath been narrowly investigated among them, and it hath been questioned whether complete health could be called a pleasure or not. Some have thought that there was no pleasure which was not sensibly excited in the body. But this opinion hath been long ago exploded among the Utopians, so that now they almost universally agree, health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures. There being pain in sickness (which pain is as opposite in its nature to pleasure, as sickness itself is to health), they hold that health is accompanied by pleasure. Should any contend, that sickness is not in reality pain, but only carries pain with it, they esteem that a subtilty which little altereth the matter.

It is the same thing in their opinion, whether it be said that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begetteth a pleasure as fire giveth heat, provided it be granted, that all those whose health is entire have a true pleasure in the enjoyment of it. They reason thus. What is the pleasure of eating, but that a man's health, which had been weakened, doth, by the assistance of food, drive away hunger, and recruiting itself, recovereth its vigour; and being thus refreshed, it findeth pleasure in the conflict. And if the

conflict be pleasure, the victory must be still more so, unless we imagine it becomes stupid so soon as it hath gained its object, and neither knoweth nor rejoiceth in its own welfare. If it be said, *health cannot be felt*, they absolutely deny this; for what man in health doth not perceive he is so, whenever he is awake? Is any man so dull, as not to acknowledge he feeleth delight in health; and what is delight but another name for pleasure?

But of all pleasures, they esteem those which proceed from the mind to be the most valuable; the chief of which spring from virtue and the testimony of a good conscience.

Health they account the chief pleasure appertaining to the body. For they think the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all other sensual delights, to be only so far desirable as they contribute to this; nor otherwise pleasant in themselves, than as they resist the inroads of our natural infirmities. For, as a wise man desireth rather to avoid illness than take physic, and to be free from pain rather than find relief from remedies, so is it more desirable not to need this kind of pleasure than be obliged to indulge it.

If any man imagine there to be a real happiness in these enjoyments, he must confess that he would be the happiest man living if he was perpetually hungry, thirsty, and itching, and therefore perpetually eating, drinking, and scratch-

ing; which any one may easily perceive would be not only a base but a miserable state of existence. These are indeed the lowest pleasures and the least pure; for we can never relish them but when mixed with the contrary pains. It is the pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating, and as it is greater, so lasts it longer than the pleasure. For it begins before it, ceases only with the pleasure which extinguisheth it, and both expire together.

They therefore think, that none of those pleasures are to be valued farther than as they are necessary. Yet they rejoice in them, and gratefully acknowledge the tenderness of the great Author of Nature, who hath given us appetites, which make the things necessary for our preservation also agreeable to us. How miserable would life be, if the daily complaints of hunger and thirst must be relieved by such bitter drugs, as we must use for those disorders which come seldomer upon us! But as it is, these pleasant as well as proper gifts of nature, preserve the strength and sprightliness of our bodies.

They also delight in the pleasures of sight, hearing, and smell, as the agreeable relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man. For no other animal contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe, is delighted with smells farther than as they distinguish meats, or apprehendeth the concord and discord of sounds. Yet in all pleasures whatever, they take care that a less one shall not prevent a greater, and that pleasure

shall never breed pain; which last they think ever followeth dishonest pleasures.

They esteem it madness in man to wear-out the beauty of his face, or his natural strength, to corrupt his body by sloth and laziness, or waste it by fasting, to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life, unless, by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the public or promote the happiness of others, for which he expecteth a greater recompence from God. Thus, they look on such a course of life, as the mark of a mind cruel to itself and ungrateful to the Author of Nature; as if we would not be indebted to him for his favours, and therefore reject his blessings; as if we would afflict ourselves for the mere empty show of virtue, or for no better end than to render ourselves capable of bearing those misfortunes which perhaps may never happen.

These are their notions of virtue and pleasure; and they think no man's reason can lead him to a truer idea of them, unless he be inspired. I have not leisure at present to examine whether they be right or wrong, nor is this incumbent upon me, having only undertaken to describe their constitution to you, and not to defend all their principles. Of this I am certain,—whatever be said of their notions, there exists not in the world a better people or a happier government.

Their bodies are vigorous and lively. Though they be

but of a middle stature, and have neither the fruitfulest soil nor the purest air in the world, they fortify themselves so well by their temperate lives against the unhealthiness of the air, and by their industry so cultivate their soil, that you shall nowhere see a greater increase both of corn and cattle. Nor are there anywhere healthier men. You may there see practised, not only all the husbandman's art of manuring and improving a bad soil, but whole woods torn up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted; that their timber may be near their towns, or near water to float it, the carriage of wood overland being more laborious than that of corn.

They are industrious, apt scholars, and cheerful and pleasant companions. None can endure more labour when it is necessary, but unless that be the case they love ease. Their pursuit of knowledge is indefatigable. When we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks (of whom alone we instructed them, for we knew there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and poets, that they would much esteem), it was strange to see with what avidity they set about learning that language. We read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than from any hope of their reaping much advantage by it. But after a very short trial, we found they made such progress, that our labour was likely to be much more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write the character and pronounce the language so well, had such quick apprehensions

and faithful memories, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have been miraculous, had not the greater part of those we taught been men of extraordinary capacity, and of a proper age for instruction. They were most of them selected among the learned men, by their chief council; though some learned it of their own accord. In three years they became masters of the language, and could read the best Greek authors.

Indeed, I am inclined to think they learned the language more easily, from its having some analogy to their own. For I believe they were a colony of Greeks; and though their language more nearly resemble the Persian, they retain many names, both for their towns and magistrates, which are of Greek derivation. I happened to take out a large number of books, instead of merchandize, when I made my fourth voyage. For, so far from expecting to return so soon, I rather thought I should never return; and I gave them all my books, among which were many of Plato's and some of Aristotle's works. I had also Theophrastus on plants, which to my great regret was imperfect; for, having allowed it to lay-about while we were at sea, a monkey had found it and torn out many of the leaves. They have no grammarians, except Lascares, as I brought not Theodorus with me; and no dictionaries except Hesychius and Dioscorides. They highly esteem Plutarch, and were much taken with Lucian's wit, and his pleasant way of writing. Of the poets, they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and the Aldine edition of So-

phocles; and of historians, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian.

My companion, Apinatus, happened to take with him some of Hippocrates' works, and Galen's Microtechne, which they hold in high esteem; for though no nation on earth needeth physic less than they do, yet none honoureth it more. They reckon this knowledge one of the pleasantest and most profitable parts of philosophy; as it searcheth the secrets of nature, is highly agreeable in the pursuit, and probably acceptable to the Author of our being. Who (like the ingenious mechanic among men) having exposed this grand machine of the universe, to the view of the only creature capable of contemplating it, they imagine that an exact and curious observer who admireth his work, is far more acceptable to him than one of the herd, who, like a beast incapable of reason, looketh on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator.

Their minds thus filled with a love of learning, they are very ingenious in the discovery of all those arts which are necessary to its promotion. Two of these they owe to us, the manufacture of paper, and the art of printing. Yet are they not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries, but that a great part of the invention was their own. We shewed them some books printed by Aldus, and explained to them the process of paper-making and printing; but having never practised these arts ourselves, we described them very superficially. They seized the hints we gave

them; and though they could not immediately arrive at perfection, yet by repeated essays they discovered and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Formerly they wrote only on parchment, reeds, or the bark of trees. Now they have established paper-manufactures and printing-presses; and, had they but a good number of Greek authors, they would quickly be supplied with many copies of them. At present they have only those I mentioned, yet have they, by repeated impressions, multiplied them to many thousand.

If any man went thither who professed some extraordinary talent, or who by much travelling had observed the customs of many countries (which gained us so good a reception), he would have a hearty welcome; for they are very desirous of knowing the state of the whole world. Few go among them to trade, for what can they bring them except iron, gold, or silver, which merchants like to keep at home. Their exportation they prefer managing themselves, to leaving it to foreigners; for by this mean they better understand the state of foreign markets and keep up a knowledge of navigation, which is not maintained without much practice.

They make no slaves of prisoners of war, except of those who are taken in battle; nor of the sons of their own slaves, or of those of other countries. Their slaves are such only, as are condemned to that state for some crime; or (which is more common) such as their merchants find con-

demned to death in countries whither they trade, whom they often ransom at low rates, and sometimes obtain them gratis. They are employed in perpetual labour, and are ever chained. Their natives are treated much more severely than others, being considered as more profligate than the rest; and, since the advantages of so excellent an education were insufficient, they are judged worthy of harder usage.

Another kind of slaves, are the poor of neighbouring countries, who offer spontaneously to serve them. They treat these better; and use them in every respect as well as their own countrymen, except that they impose more labour upon them, which is no hardship to those who have been accustomed to it. And if any of them desire to return to their own country (which indeed seldom happeneth) they neither force them to stay nor send them away empty-handed.

I have already related to you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone which may contribute either to their health or ease. And as for those who are afflicted with incurable disorders, they use all possible means of cherishing them, and of making their lives as comfortable as possible; they visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass easily. But if any have torturing, lingering pain, without hope of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates repair to them and exhort them, since they are unable to proceed with the busi-

ness of life, are become a burden to themselves and all about them, and have in reality outlived themselves, they should no longer cherish a rooted disease, but choose to die since they cannot live but in great misery; being persuaded, if they thus deliver themselves from torture, or allow others to do it, they shall be happy after death. Since they forfeit none of the pleasures, but only the troubles of life by this, they think they not only act reasonably, but consistently with religion; for they follow the advice of their priests, the expounders of God's will.

Those who are wrought upon by these persuasions, either starve themselves or take laudanum. But no one is compelled to end his life thus; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, the former care and attendance on them is continued. And though they esteem a voluntary death, when chosen on such authority, to be very honourable, on the contrary, if any one commit suicide without the concurrence of the priests and senate, they honour not the body with a decent funeral, but throw it into a ditch.

Their women are not allowed to marry before eighteen, and their men not before twenty-two. If any of them be guilty of unlawful intercourse before marriage, they are severely punished, and they are not allowed to marry unless they can obtain an especial warrant from the prince. Such disorderly conduct also bringeth a severe reproach on the master and mistress of the family in which it happened; for it is concluded that they have been negligent in their

duty. Their reason for punishing this so severely is, because they think, were they not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a state, in which they hazard the peace of their whole lives by being tied to one person, and are obliged to endure all the inconveniencies with which that state is accompanied.

In matching, they ádopt a plan which appears to us very extravagant, yet is constantly observed among them and accounted very wise. Before marriage, a grave matron presenteth the bride (be she virgin or widow) naked, to the bridegroom; and after that, some grave man presenteth the bridegroom naked to the bride. We laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. They, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of mankind in all other countries; who, if they buy but an inferior horse, examine him all over and take off his trappings; yet a wife, on whom dependeth the happiness of the remainder of life, they take upon trust, regarding only her face, and leaving the rest of her body covered, where contagious and loathsome disorders may lie concealed. All men are not so wise as to choose a woman only for her good qualities; and even the wise consider the body as adding not a little to the mind. It is certain the clothes may conceal some deformity which may alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part with her. If such a thing be discovered after marriage, he hath no remedy but patience. They therefore think it reasonable, that good care should be taken to guard against such mischievous deception.

There was the more reason for this regulation among them, because they are the only people of those parts who allow not polygamy or divorce, except in case of adultery or insufferable perverseness. In these cases the senate dissolveth the marriage, and granteth the injured leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous and never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. No one is suffered to put away his wife against her inclination, on account of any misfortune which may have befallen her person. They esteem it the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married pair, when they most need the tenderness of their partner; especially in the case of old age, which bringeth many diseases with it, and is itself a disease. But it often happens, that, when a married pair do not agree, they separate by mutual consent, and find others with whom they hope to live more happily. Yet this is not done without leave from the senate, which never alloweth a divorce without a strict inquiry, by the senators and their wives, into the grounds on which it is desired. Even when they are satisfied as to the reasons of it, the matter proceedeth but slowly, for they are persuaded that a too ready permission of new marriages, would greatly impair the kind intercourse of the married.

They severely punish those who defile the marriage-bed. If both the offenders be married, they are divorced, and the injured may intermarry, or with whom else they please; but the adulterer and adultress are condemned to slavery. Yet if the injured cannot conquer the love of the offender,

they may still live together, the partner following to the labour to which the slave is condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned, and the unaltered kindness of the injured, have prevailed with the prince to take off the sentence. But who relapse after they are once pardoned, are punished with death.

Their law determineth not the punishment of other crimes, it being left to the senate to fix it according to the circumstances of the case. Husbands are allowed to correct their wives, and parents their children, unless the offence be so great that public punishment is thought necessary for the sake of example. Slavery is generally the punishment, even of the greatest crimes; for it is no less terrible to the criminals than death, and they deem the preservation of them in servitude to be more for the interest of the state than killing them. Their labour is more beneficial to the public than their death could be; and the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to others, than that of their death.

If their slaves will not bear their yoke nor submit to the labour prescribed them, but rebel, they are treated as wild beasts, not to be kept in order by a prison or chains; and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and appear to be more troubled by their crimes than their sufferings, are not without hope that in the end, either the prince by his prerogative, or the people

by their intercession, will restore them to liberty, or at least greatly mitigate their slavery.

Who tempts a woman to adultery is no less severely punished than he who commits the crime. They deem a deliberate design to commit a crime equal to the actual perpetration of it; since its not taking effect diminisheth not the guilt of him who miscarried in his attempt.

They take great pleasure in fools. It is esteemed base and unbecoming to use them ill, and they think it not amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly, and that it is an advantage to the fools. For were men so morose and severe as not to be at all amused with their ridiculous behaviour and foolish sayings (which is all they can do to recommend themselves to others), it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used, as otherwise.

Should any man reproach another for being mishapen, or imperfect in any part of his body, it would be thought no reflection on the person so treated, but scandalous in him who had upbraided another with what he could not prevent.

It is thought a mark of a sluggish and sordid mind, not to preserve natural beauty with care; but it is infamous among them to paint. They all see that no beauty recommendeth a wife to her husband so strongly as her probity

and obedience; few only are attracted by beauty, but the other excellencies charm the whole world.

As they terrify from the commission of crimes, by punishments, they invite to the practice of virtue by public honours. They erect statues in their market-places to the memory of such as have deserved well of their country, to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and be an incitement to posterity to follow their example.

If a man aspire ambitiously to any office, he loseth it for certain. They live in loving intercourse with each other, the magistrates never behaving either insolently or cruelly to the people. They affect rather to be called fathers, and by really being such, well merit the appellation. The people pay them all marks of honour, the more freely because none are exacted from them. The prince himself hath no distinction either of garments or a crown; a sheaf of corn only is carried before him, and a wax-light before the high-priest.

They have few laws, and such is their constitution, they require not many. They much condemn other countries, whose laws, with the commentaries on them, swell so many volumes; esteeming it unreasonable to oblige men to obey a body of laws so large and intricate, as not to be read and understood by every subject.

They have no lawyers among them. For they esteem

them a class, whose profession it is to disguise matters, and to writhe the laws. Therefore they think it much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge, as elsewhere the client trusteth it to his counsellor. By this plan they avoid many delays, and find out the truth with more certainty. For after the parties have opened the merits of the cause without the artifices of lawyers, the judge examines the matter and supports the simplicity of those well-meaning persons whom otherwise the crafty would run down. And thus they avoid those evils which appear so remarkable in those countries which labour under a vast load of laws.

Every one of them is skilled in their law. It is a very short study, and the plainest meaning of which words are capable, is ever the sense of it. They argue thus. All laws are promulgated that every man may know his duty. Therefore the plainest construction of words is, what ought to be put upon them. A more refined exposition could not easily be comprehended, and would only make the laws useless to the greater part of mankind, especially to those who most need the guidance of them. It is the same thing, whether you make no law at all, or couch it in terms of which, without a quick apprehension and much study, men cannot find out the true meaning; for the generality of mankind are so dull and so busied in their avocations, that they have neither the leisure nor capacity requisite for such an inquiry.

Some of their neighbours, who long ago, by the assistance of the Utopians, shook off the yoke of tyranny, being struck with the virtue they observed among them, have come to desire magistrates of them, some changing them yearly, others every five years. When they change them, it is with strong expressions of honour and esteem; and in this they seem to have hit upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety. Since the good or ill condition of a country dependeth so much on its magistrates, they could not have made a better choice than men whom no advantages can bias. Wealth is of no use to them, who must so soon return to their own country; and being strangers among them, no party interests can agitate them. When public judicatories are swayed by avarice or partiality, justice, the grand sinew of society, is lost.

The Utopians call those who ask magistrates from them, neighbours; but those to whom they have rendered more particular services, friends. While all other nations are perpetually making and breaking leagues, they never enter into alliance with any state. They think leagues useless, and believe, that if the common ties of humanity knit men not together, the faith of promises will have little effect. They are the more confirmed in this by what they see of the nations around them, who are no strict observers of leagues and treaties.

We know how religiously they are observed in Europe. Where the christian doctrine is received, they are particu-

larly sacred and inviolable. This is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence they pay the popes. Who, being most religious observers of their own promises, exhort all other princes to perform theirs; and when gentler methods prevail not, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure; thinking it would be the height of indecency, if men distinguished by the title, *the faithful*, should not religiously observe the *faith* of treaties.

But in that new-found world, which is not less distant from us in point of situation than in the manners of its inhabitants, there is no relying on leagues though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies. On the contrary, they are on this account the sooner broken. Some slight pretence is found in the words of the treaty (purposely couched in such ambiguous terms, as never so strictly to bind but that a loop-hole remains), and thus they break both their leagues and their faith. This is practised with such impudence, that those very men who pride themselves in having suggested such expedients to their princes, would declaim scornfully against such craft, or (to speak plainer) such fraud and deceit, if they found individuals practising it in their bargains; and would not scruple to say, *they deserve to be hanged.*

Thus it is that justice passeth for a low-spirited and vulgar virtue, far beneath the dignity of royal greatness; or at least there are two kinds of it. The one is mean and

becomes only the lower orders, therefore must be restrained that it break not its proper bounds. The other is the virtue of princes, which is more majestic than that which becomes the rabble, therefore takes a freer range; and *lawful* and *unlawful* are measured only by pleasure and interest. These practices of their neighbouring princes, who make so little account of their faith, seem to have determined the Utopians to engage in no confederacies. Perhaps they would change their minds if they lived among us.

Yet though treaties were more religiously observed, they would dislike the practice of making them, because the world proceedeth therein on a false maxim,—as if there was no natural tie between two nations, perhaps separated only by a mountain or a river, and that all were born in a state of hostility, and might lawfully do all the mischief to their neighbours, against which there is no provision made by treaties; and that when treaties are made, they cut not off the enmity, or restrain the licence of preying on each other, if from want of skill in expressing them, no effectual proviso be made! They, on the contrary, maintain, that no man is to be esteemed our enemy who hath never injured us; that the partnership of human nature is instead of a league, and that kindness and good nature unite men more strongly than any compact whatever, since the engagements of the heart are stronger than the obligation of words.

They detest war, as brutal, and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised by man than by any beast. In opposition to the sentiment of almost every other country, they think nothing more inglorious than the glory gained by war. Therefore, though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises and discipline, in which also their women are trained (that in cases of need they may not be quite useless), yet engage they not rashly in war; but only to defend themselves or their friends from aggression, or to assist the oppressed in shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They help their friends in offensive as well as defensive wars; but never without having been consulted before the breach was made, being satisfied as to the grounds, and finding every effort of accommodation vain.

They think war just, when a nation encroaches on the territory of its neighbour by public authority and bears away spoil; or when merchants are oppressed in a strange country, under pretence of unjust laws, or by the distortion of good ones. The latter they reckon the juster cause, because injury is done under the semblance of law. This was the sole ground of the war in which they engaged with the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitans, a little before our time. The merchants of the former, having, as they thought, experienced great injustice among the latter, it produced a terrible war, in which many neighbouring states were engaged. By their inveteracy and power, they shook some very flourishing states, and greatly distressed others; and after a series of much mischief, the Alaopolitans, greatly

superior before the war to their enemies, were subdued and enslaved. But though the Utopians assisted the Nephelogetes in the war, they pretended to no share of the spoil.

Though they assist, with such alacrity and vigour, their friends, in redressing the injuries they have received of this nature; if such offences were committed against themselves, provided no violence was offered to their persons, the only resentment they would shew on being refused satisfaction, would be to avoid trading with the offenders. This is not because they consider their neighbours as of more consequence than their own citizens. But, since their neighbours trade every one with his own capital, fraud is a more sensible injury to them than to the Utopians, with whom the public only suffers in such a case.

As they expect nothing in return for the merchandize they export, but what they abound in and is of little use to them, the loss little affects them. They think therefore it would be too severe, to revenge a loss attended with so little inconvenience to their lives or their subsistence, with the death of many. But if any of their people be either killed or wounded undeservedly, whether it be done by public authority or by individuals, as soon as they hear of it, they send ambassadors and demand that the offenders be given up. If this be denied, they declare war; but if complied with, the guilty are condemned to death or slavery.

They would be ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies, thinking it would be as foolish a purchase as the costliest effects at a very exorbitant price. In none do they glory so much, as in that which is gained by skill and conduct without bloodshed. In such cases they appoint public triumphs and erect trophies, in honour of the successful. For then do they esteem man to act suitably to his nature, when he conquereth his enemy, as no creature but man could conquer—by his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, dogs, and all other animals, use their bodily strength against each other. In this and in ferocity, many of them excel man,—but all are subdued by his reason.

Their only design in war is, to obtain that by force, which, had it been conceded to them in time, would have prevented the war; or, if this cannot be accomplished, so severely to reprimand those who have injured them, that they may be deterred from a repetition of their conduct. It is palpable that fame or vain glory are not their objects, but a just regard to their own security.

As soon as they declare war, they cause a number of hand-bills, sealed with their seal, to be displayed in the most conspicuous parts of their enemies' country. They are secretly conveyed and produced in many places at the same time. In these they offer great rewards to such as shall kill the prince, and proportional ones in regard to other instigators of the war; doubling the sum if they be delivered alive into their hands, and offering not only in-

demnity, but rewards to such of the marked persons as will act against their country. Thus the persons named, become not only distrustful of their fellow-citizens, but jealous of each other, and distracted between fear and danger. For it hath frequently occurred, that many of them, and even the prince himself, have been betrayed by those they most trusted.

These rewards offered by the Utopians are so immense, that there is no crime to which men cannot be induced by them. They consider the risk which those run who undertake such services, and recompence them in proportion to the danger,—offering not only vast treasures of gold, but large estates in other countries in amity with them, which they may enjoy in great security. And they observe most religiously the promises they make of this nature.

They greatly approve this mode of corrupting their enemies, though others think it base and cruel. They deem it a wise course, for ending, what might otherwise be a tedious war, without hazarding a battle. They think it also an act of mercy and love to mankind, to prevent, by the death of a few of the most guilty, the great slaughter on either side which must otherwise ensue in the war; and that by so doing, they are kind even to their enemies, and commiserate them no less than themselves; well knowing, that most of them engage not in the war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the passions of their prince.

If this method succeed not, they sow contention among their enemies, and endeavour to animate the prince's brother or some of the nobility to aspire to the crown. And if they cannot disunite them by domestic broils, they engage their neighbours against them, making them renew some antiquated pretension or other, which are never wanting to princes when they have occasion for them. These they supply plentifully with money, though but very sparingly with troops; for they would not willingly exchange one of their own subjects for even the prince of their enemy's country. Keeping their gold and silver for such an occasion only, when it offers itself, they freely part with it, since it would be no inconvenience to them did they reserve none for themselves; for beside their wealth at home they have a vast treasure abroad, many nations around them being deeply in their debt. They therefore hire soldiers everywhere for carrying on their wars, but chiefly among the Zapolets, 500 miles eastward of Utopia.

This is a rude and fierce people, delighting in the woods and rocks among which they were born and bred. Proof against heat, cold, and labour, and ignorant of the delicacies of life, they devote not their attention to agriculture, and are indifferent as to their clothing and habitation. Cattle is their only regard. Hunting and rapine chiefly supply their wants, and they may be called the very soul of war. They watch every opportunity of engaging in it, and eagerly embrace such as present themselves. Numbers of them frequently go forth, and offer themselves on very

low pay to such as will employ them. They know no art of life but what tends to its destruction. They serve with great courage and fidelity, but will not engage themselves for any fixed time.

Their agreements are so made, that they may go over to the enemy the following day if they offer them more pay; and they will perhaps return the day after at a still higher advance. There are few wars in which they constitute not a main force on either side. Thus it often happens that relations and friends kill one another, being hired for a little money by princes of different interests; and such regard have they for money, that they are easily wrought upon by the difference of a penny a-day to change sides. Yet this very money is of little use to them; for, what they thus buy with their blood, they soon afterward waste in luxury, which, with them, is of a miserable kind.

These people are ready to serve the Utopians against any other nation, for they pay higher than any. And, the maxim of the Utopians being, to seek the best men for home, and to use the worst for the carnage of war, they hire these, by the offer of great rewards, to expose themselves to every hazard, from which most of them return not, to claim the rewards. Yet they fulfil their engagements most religiously to such as escape, which animates them to adventuring anew, whenever occasion requires. And the Utopians are not at all concerned at the number which falls; esteeming it a service to mankind to deliver

them from such a vile and abominable race, the very sink of humanity.

Beside these, they are served in their wars by the persons on whose account they undertake them, and by auxiliaries from their other friends; adding a few of their own people, and sending a commander-in-chief of approved valour. Two are sent with him, who are only privates during his command. But should he be killed or taken, the first succeeds him; and if the misfortune recur, the third takes the command. This provision is made, that such accidents as befal their generals may not endanger their armies.

When they draw-out troops of their own, they take such from every city as offer themselves voluntarily, using no compulsion; for they think if any man be impressed who wanteth courage, he will not only be ineffective, but his cowardice may dishearten others. If, however, their country be invaded, they use such men, if they be strong, though not brave. They either send them aboard their ships or plant them on their town-walls, that they may not fly; and shame, the heat of action, or impossibility of escape bearing down their fear, they often make a virtue of necessity and behave well.

Forcing no man to engage in a foreign war against his will, they prevent not those women who are willing to accompany their husbands, but encourage and applaud them;

and they often stand nearest their husbands in the front of the battle. They also place together parents and children, kindred, and allies; that those who have by nature the strongest ties for assisting each other, may be nearest and readiest to do so. It is matter of reproach among them if husband or wife survive each other, or the child its parent; they therefore fight to the last while a foe opposes them.

Although they adopt every prudent mean of avoiding to hazard their own men, and of devolving the danger on their mercenaries, yet if it become necessary for themselves to engage, they charge with as much courage as they before avoided action with prudence. Nor is it merely a fierce onset, but increases by degrees; and as they continue in action they grow more obstinate and press harder on the enemy, insomuch that they will rather perish than give ground. For the certainty which they feel, that their children will be well taken care of when they are dead, relieves them from the anxiety which often overcomes men of courage in the hour of battle, and the resolution which animates them is noble and invincible.

Their skill in military affairs increases their courage, and the sentiments instilled in their minds in youth according to the laws of their country, give them additional vigour. They neither undervalue life so as to throw it away prodigally, nor are they so indecently fond of it as to preserve it by base and unbecoming means. In the heat of action, the bravest of their youth single-out the enemy's general,

set on him openly or in ambuscade, pursue him everywhere, and when exhausted are relieved by others who never cease from the pursuit; attacking him hand to hand, or with missile weapons, as the occasion requires, and with such determination, that unless he secure himself by flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or take him prisoner.

When they have gained a victory, they kill as few as possible, being much more bent on taking many prisoners than on destroying those who fly before them. Nor do they ever allow their men to pursue the enemy, without preserving one battalion entire; so that, had they been compelled to engage the last of them to gain the day, they would rather let the enemy all escape, then pursue them when their own army was in disorder. They well remember what hath often befallen themselves. When their main body hath been broken, and the enemy, imagining the victory obtained, hath irregularly pursued, a reserve of them, falling on their disordered chase, hath turned the fortune of the day and wrested a victory from them which they thought certain.

It is difficult to say whether they be more expert in preparing or escaping ambush. Sometimes they appear to fly when it is far from their design; and when they intend to give ground, it is very difficult to discover their purpose. Be they ill-posted, or likely to be overpowered by numbers, they silently march off in the night, or delude the enemy by stratagem. Retire they by day, it is in such or-

der, that it would be no less dangerous to attack them in retreat than on march.

They fortify their camp with a large deep trench, and throw-up the earth for a wall. Not their slaves alone, but the whole army works at it, save those who are upon guard. Thus a great line and a strong fortification are finished in a time scarcely credible. Their armour is very strong, yet light for marching, so that they can even swim in it, which art, all who are trained to war practise. Horse as well as foot make frequent use of arrows, and are very expert with them. They have no swords, but fight with a poll-ax which is sharp and heavy, and with which they thrust-at or strike-down their enemy. They are very clever at inventing war-like engines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy feels before he perceives the use of them, and cannot guard against their design. Their chief consideration in them is, that they may be carried and managed with ease.

If they make a truce, they observe it so religiously, that no provocations will induce them to break it. They never lay-waste their enemies' country, nor burn their corn; and in their very march take all possible care that neither horse nor foot may trample it, for they know not but they may want it themselves. They hurt no man whom they find disarmed, except he be a spy. When a town surrenders, they take it into their protection. When they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the sword who opposed the surrender of it, and make the rest

of the garrison slaves. To the other inhabitants they do no hurt. And if any of them advised the surrender, they give them good rewards from the estates of the condemned, distributing the rest among their auxiliary troops; but themselves take no share of the spoil.

When a war is ended, they require not of their friends the reimbursement of their expence, but obtain it of the conquered, either in money, which they reserve for the next occasion, or in land, from which a constant revenue is to be paid them. By accumulation, the revenue they now derive in this way from several countries, exceeds 700,000 ducats per annum. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live with the magnificence of princes, by which they expend much of it in the place; and they either bring the rest to Utopia, or lend it to the country it belonged to. This last is their common custom, unless some great occasion (which happens very rarely) should oblige them to call for it all. It is from these lands that they assign rewards to such as they engage in desperate attempts.

If any prince at war with them proposes to invade their country, they prevent him by making his country the seat of war. For they very unwillingly suffer any war in their own island, and should that happen, they would defend themselves without calling in the aid of auxiliary troops.

Various religions abound in different parts of the island,

and even in every town. Some worship the sun, others the moon, or one of the planets. Others again worship such men as have been eminent for virtue or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the Supreme God. Yet the greater and wiser part, adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, incomprehensible Deity; as a being far above all our apprehensions, who is spread over the whole universe, not in material substance, but in power and virtue. They call him the FATHER OF ALL, and acknowledge that the beginning, increase, progress, vicissitudes, and end of all things arise from him; nor do they offer divine honours to any other.

Indeed, though they differ in other things, yet all agree in thinking there is one Supreme Being who made and governs the world, whom, in their language, they call Mithras. One thinks the God he worships is this Supreme Being, another that his idol is that God; but all agree that, whoever is this Supreme Being, he is also that great essence, to whose glory and majesty all honours are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

By degrees they abandon their various superstitions and unite in the religion which is best and most esteemed. And there can be no doubt but that all the others had long ago vanished, had not, whatever accident happened to those who advised them to lay aside their superstitions, been considered as inflicted by heaven, and created a dread, that the God whose worship had been nearly abandoned had

interposed, and had revenged himself on those who despised his authority.

When they had heard from us the doctrine, course of life, and miracles of Christ, and the wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood, so willingly offered-up by them, contributed to the spreading of their religion over a vast number of nations, it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I will not determine whether this proceeded from divine inspiration, or from the notion of a community of goods, so peculiar and dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by that rule, and that it was still maintained in some communities among the sincerest Christians. However that be, many of them came over to our religion and were initiated in it by baptism. But two of our number were dead, and none of the four survivors were in priests orders; we could therefore only baptize them, and to our great regret they could not partake of the other sacraments, only to be administered by priests. They are, however, instructed concerning them, and vehemently long for them. They disputed among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a priest, would not thereby be qualified to perform every office of one, though he derived no authority from the pope; and they seemed resolved to make an election for that purpose, but had not done it when I left them.

Those who do not embrace our religion, deter none from

so doing, and use none ill who become converts to it. While I was there, one man only was punished on this occasion. Being newly baptized, notwithstanding all we could say to the contrary, he disputed publicly concerning the Christian religion with more zeal than discretion; and with such heat, that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane, crying out against all who adhered to them as impious and sacrilegious, to be condemned to everlasting flames. On his having frequently preached in this manner, he was taken up, tried, and banished, not for having disparaged their religion, but for inflaming the people to sedition; for it is one of their oldest laws, that no man is to be punished for his religion.

Utopus understood, that before his coming among them, the inhabitants had been engaged in serious quarrels concerning religion. By this they were so divided among themselves, that, every party fighting by itself, he found it easy to conquer them. This done, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to his persuasion by argument, friendship, and modest demeanour, without bitterness against those of other opinions; but any using other force than that of persuasion, or using reproaches or violence, were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

This law was made by Utopus, not only to preserve the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable sects, but because he thought

the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it wrong to lay down any thing rashly; and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all proceed from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with the variety. He therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another, to make him believe what did not strike him as true. Supposing only one religion to be true and the rest false, he imagined that the innate force of truth would at last break forth and shine with splendour, if supported only by the strength of reasoning, and attended to by a docile and unprejudiced mind. On the other hand, were such debates carried on with violence and tumult, since the most wicked are ever the most obstinate, the best and holiest religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with thorns and briars.

He therefore left men free, to believe as they saw cause; making only a solemn and severe law against those who should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature, as to suppose our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wise directing providence. For they all formerly believed that there is a state of rewards and punishments after this life; and they now esteem those who think otherwise as unfit to be accounted men, degrading so noble a being as the soul of man, and ranking it with the beast. They look upon such men as totally unfit for human society, or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth, since, with such principles,

as oft as they dare, they will despise all their laws and customs; there being no doubt, that one who feareth nothing but the law, and apprehendeth nothing after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country by fraud or force, when by so doing he can satisfy his appetites.

They never raise any who entertain such opinions, either to honours or offices, nor do they employ them in any public trust, but despise them as men of base and sordid minds. Yet do they not punish them. For they lay it down as a maxim, that man cannot make himself believe any thing he pleases, nor do they drive any by threats to dissemble their thoughts. Thus, men are not tempted to lie, or to disguise their opinions, which (being a kind of fraud) is abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defence of these opinions, especially before the common people. But they suffer, nay, even encourage them, to dispute of them in private with their priests and other grave men, being confident they will be cured of their madness, by the conviction which their reason will receive.

There be many of them who run deeply into the other extreme, though it is not thought a bad or a very unreasonable opinion, and is therefore not at all discouraged. These think the souls of beasts immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and incapable of so great happiness.

They are nearly all of them firmly persuaded that good men will be infinitely happy in another state. Therefore, though they be compassionate to the sick, they lament no man's death, unless they see him loath to part with life. This they esteem a very bad presage; as if the soul, conscious of guilt, and hopeless, feared to leave the body from some prepossession of approaching misery. They think a man's appearance before God cannot be acceptable to him, who, being called, goeth not cheerfully, but is backward, unwilling, and as it were dragged to it. They are struck with horror when they see any die in this manner; and carrying them out in silence and sorrow, praying God to be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they inter them.

But when they die cheerfully and full of hope, they mourn not, but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies, commending their souls very earnestly to God. Their whole behaviour then, is rather grave than sad. They burn the body, and erect a pillar where the pile was made, with an inscription to the honour of the deceased. When they return from the funeral, they discourse of his good life and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftner, or with more pleasure, than of his serenity at the hour of death. They think such respect, paid to the memory of good men, to be, as well the greatest incitement to others to follow their example, as the most acceptable worship which can be offered themselves. For they believe, that though, by the imperfection of human eyes, they be invisible to us, yet

they are present among us and hear our discourses concerning themselves.

They deem it inconsistent with the happiness of departed souls, not to be at liberty to range where they please, and imagine them incapable of the ingratitude of not desiring to see those friends with whom they lived on earth in the strictest bonds of love and kindness. Beside, they are persuaded, that good men, after death, have these affections and all other good dispositions, increased rather than diminished; and therefore conclude, they are still present to the living, and observe all they say and do. Hence, they engage in every pursuit with greater confidence, trusting to their protection; while the same opinion of the presence of their ancestors is a restraint, which prevents their engaging in ill designs.

They ridicule and despise auguries, and the other vain and superstitious modes of divination, so much observed in other countries. But they have great reverence for such miracles as cannot proceed from any natural cause, esteeming them indications and effects of the presence of the Supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their public prayers, which, on momentous occasions, they have solemnly put up to God with confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner. They deem the contemplation of God in his works, and the adoration of him

for their excellence, to be tributes highly acceptable to the Deity.

There be many among them who, from a religious motive, neglect learning, and apply themselves to no study whatever. Nor do they allow themselves any leisure, but are perpetually occupied; believing, that by the good which a man doth, he secureth to himself that happiness which comes after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, clean ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stones. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn, and other necessaries, on carts into their towns. Nor do these serve the public only, but individuals, and that more than the slaves themselves. For, if there be anywhere a rough, difficult, and sordid undertaking, from which most are deterred by its labour and loathsomeness, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they voluntarily and cheerfully take it in hand, thereby greatly easing others, and prescribing to themselves a life of hard labour, yet without valuing themselves upon it, or diminishing the credit of others to increase their own. And the lower they stoop in such servile occupations, the more are they esteemed by all.

There be two kinds of these people. Some live in singleness and chastity, and abstain from flesh. Thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of this life (which they account hurtful), they pursue, even by the most difficult and painful methods possible, that bliss which they hope

for hereafter; and the nearer they approach it, the more cheerful and earnest are their endeavours after it.

Another kind of them, though they be no less sollicitous of toil, yet they prefer the married to the single state. These deny not themselves the comforts of that state, and think the propagation of their species is a debt they owe to human nature and their country. Nor do they avoid any pleasure which hindereth not labour, and eat flesh the more willingly as it recruits them for it. The Utopians esteem this the wiser sect, but the other the more holy. They would indeed laugh at any one, who on mere rational principles would prefer the single to the married state, or a life of labour to one of ease; but they ever admire and reverence such as do it from religious motives, there being nothing in which they are more cautious, than in deciding rashly on that subject. Those, therefore, who lead these severe lives, are called in their language *Buthrescas*, which answers to our term *religious orders*.

Their priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore few in number. For there are only thirteen in every town, one for every temple. But when they go to war, seven of these attend them, and seven more are chosen in their place, the former reassuming their office on their return, and those who served in their absence attending on the high-priest (who presideth over the rest) till vacancies occur by death. They are chosen by the people in the same manner as the magistrates, by suffrages, privily given, to

prevent faction; and when chosen, they are consecrated by the college of priests. The care of every thing sacred, the worship of God, and a due inspection into the manners of the people, are committed to them. It is a reproach to be sent for by any of them, or to be spoken to by them in private, it ever creating suspicion. Yet they have only to admonish the people, for the power of punishing offences resteth entirely with the prince and other magistrates.

The severest thing the priest doth, is to exclude those who are desperately wicked from joining in their worship; and no kind of punishment is more dreaded by them. It loads them with infamy and fills them with secret horror; such is their reverence of their religion! Nor will their bodies remain long exempt from their share of suffering. For if they do not very soon satisfy the priest of the sincerity of their repentance, they are seized by the senate and punished for their impiety.

The education of youth is in the hands of the priests. They are less solicitous of instructing them in letters, than of forming aright their minds and manners. They use all possible means of infusing very early into the tender and flexible minds of children, such opinions as are both good in themselves, and will be useful to their country. For, when deep impressions of this kind are made at such an age, they follow man through life, and conduce materially to the tranquillity of the state in which he lives, which may

suffer from nothing more than from the vices arising from bad sentiments. Their priests, if they be not women (for that sex is not excluded from the office, though rarely chosen, and then not unless she be a widow and old), have for their wives the most excellent women in the country.

None of the magistrates have greater respect shewn them than the priests; and should they commit any crime they would not be questioned about it, their punishment being left to God and their consciences. For the Utopians deem it unlawful to lay hands on any man, how wicked soever, who hath been particularly dedicated to God. Nor find they any considerable inconvenience in this; for, having so few priests, and those chosen with much caution, it must be very unusual to find one, who was raised to such a dignity merely from his virtue and goodness, degenerating into corruption and vice. Even should such a thing happen, for man is changeable, yet the smallness of their number, and their having no authority but what arises from the respect paid them, nothing of consequence can happen to the public from the indemnity they enjoy.

They have so few of them, lest numbers sharing in the honour, the dignity of the order, so highly esteemed by them, might sink in reputation. They also think it difficult to find many of such exalted goodness, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exercise of more than common virtue. Nor are these priests in less veneration

among neighbouring nations, as you may imagine by what I am going to relate.

When the Utopians engage in war, the priests who accompany them to the battle, apparelled in their sacred vestments, kneel during the action near the field, and pray first for peace, next for victory to their side, and lastly for little effusion of blood on either side. Is the victory in their favour, they run in among their troops to restrain their fury. If any of the enemy see or call to them, they are preserved; and such as can touch their garments, have not only their lives but their fortunes secured to them. On this account, all neighbouring nations consider them with such reverence, that they have frequently been no less able to save their own men from the fury of the enemy. For it hath sometimes happened, when their army hath been in disorder and flying, and the enemy running to the slaughter and spoil, the priests have interfered, separated them, and stopped the effusion of blood; and a peace hath been concluded on reasonable terms. Nor is there any nation about them so fierce or barbarous, as not to reckon the persons of the priests sacred and inviolable.

The first and last day of the month and of the year, is with them a festival. They measure their months by the course of the moon, and their years by that of the sun. The first days are called in their language Cynemernes, and the last Trapemernes, which terms answer in our language to the festivals which begin and end the season.

They have magnificent temples, nobly built and spacious, which is the more necessary as they have so few of them. These are somewhat dark within, which proceeds from no error in the building, but is done with design. For their priests are of opinion that too much light dissipates the thoughts, while a more moderate degree concentrates the mind and raises devotion.

Though there be many different forms of religion among them, all agree in the main point of worshipping the divine essence. Therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples, in which the several persuasions among them may not agree. For every sect performs the rites peculiar to it in their private houses, and there is nothing in the public worship which contradicts their peculiarities. There are no images of God in their temples, therefore every one may represent him to his thoughts in his own way; nor do they use for him any other name than Mithras, their term in common for the divine essence, whatever otherwise they think of it; nor have they any forms of prayer, but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his private opinion.

They meet in their temples on the eve of the festival concluding a month or year, and before breaking their fast, thank God for their prosperity during that period. The next day they meet there again early, to pray for the same prosperity during the period on which they then enter. Before they go to the temple, wives and children kneel to

their husbands and parents, confess every thing in which they have erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it. Thus all petty dissatisfactions in families are removed, and they can offer their devotions with serenity and pureness of mind. For they hold it, a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts, or with a consciousness of bearing hatred or anger to any one; and that they should become liable to severe punishment, if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts and reconciling every difference.

In the temples the sexes are separated, the men going to the right and the women to the left. Males as well as females place themselves before the master or mistress of the family to which they belong, that those who have the government of them at home may see their deportment in public. They mingle the young with the old, lest, being apart, they might trifle away that time in which they ought to form in themselves that religious awe of the Supreme Being, which is the strongest and nearly the sole incitement to virtue.

They offer no living creature in sacrifice; not thinking it suitable to the Divine Being, by whose bounty these creatures have their lives, to take pleasure in their deaths, or the offering their blood. They burn incense and other sweet odours, and burn a number of waxen lights during their worship. And this, not from any imagination that such oblations can add any thing to the Divine Nature, which

even prayers cannot, but it is a harmless and pure mode of worship; and these sweet savours and lights, with some other ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate man's soul, and inspire him with energy and cheerfulness during divine worship.

The people appear in the temples in white garments, but the vestments of the priests are party-coloured, and the work as well as the colours are highly curious. They are made of no rich materials, for neither are they embroidered, nor beset with precious stones; but they are composed of the plumage of birds, with such art, that the real value of them exceedeth the costliest materials. They say, that in the disposition of these plumes, some dark mysteries are represented, which descend in a secret tradition among their priests; being a kind of hieroglyphic, reminding them of the blessings derived from God, and of their duty to him and their neighbour.

When the priest appears in these garments, they all fall prostrate to the ground with such reverence and silence, that a spectator cannot but be struck, as if it was an effect of some supernatural appearance. After being for some time in this posture, they all stand up, on a sign given by the priest, and sing hymns to the honour of God, musical instruments playing the while. These are of a form totally differing from those used among us; many are much sweeter, others not to be compared to ours. Yet in one thing they very much excel us. All their music, vocal as

well as instrumental, imitates and expresses the passions. It is so well adapted to every occasion, that, be the subject deprecation, gladness, soothing, trouble, mourning, or anger, the music gives such a lively impression of what is represented, as wonderfully to affect and kindle the passions, and work the sentiments deeply into the hearts of the hearers.

This done, priests and people offer very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words; which are so composed, that whatever is pronounced by the whole assembly may be applied by any individual to himself. In these they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good they receive; they therefore offer him their thanksgiving. In particular, they bless him that they are born under the happiest government in the world, and are of a religious persuasion which they hope is the truest of all others. Be they mistaken, and there is a better government, or a religion more acceptable to him, they implore his goodness to let them know it; vowing that they resolve to follow him whithersoever he leadeth. But if their government be the best and their religion the truest, they pray that he may strengthen them therein, and bring all the world to the same rules of life and the same opinions of himself; unless, in his unsearchable wisdom, he be pleased with a variety of religions.

Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to himself. They presume not to limit how ear-

ly or late it should be; but if a wish may be formed, without derogating from his supreme authority, they desire to be quickly delivered and taken to him, though by the most terrible death, rather than to be long detained from seeing him by the most prosperous life. This prayer ended, they all fall down again to the ground, and after a short pause rise, go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in diversion or military exercise.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the constitution of that commonwealth, which I think not only the best in the world, but the only one truly deserving that name. In all other places, while men talk of a commonwealth, every one seeketh only his own wealth; but there, where no man hath any property, all pursue with zeal the public good.

And, indeed, this diversity of conduct is no wonder. In other commonwealths, every one knows, that unless he provide for himself, how flourishing soever the state may be, he must die of hunger; he therefore sees the necessity of preferring his private to the public good. But in Utopia, where every one hath a right to every thing, they all know, that if due care be taken to supply the public stores, no individual can want any thing. Among them is no unequal distribution, so no one is in necessity; and though no man hath any thing, all are rich. For what can render man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life free from anxieties, neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the com-

plaints of those about him. He fears not for his children, nor is he anxiously raising portions for his daughters; but is secure, that he, his wife, children, grand-children, to as many generations as he can imagine, will all live in affluence and happiness; since in his country, no less care is taken of those who once laboured and were afterward disabled, than elsewhere of those who are still able to work.

Would any man compare their justice with that of other countries?—in which, may I perish! if I see any thing either like justice or equity. For what justice is there in a nobleman, &c. or any one who either does nothing, or is employed in things which are of no use to the public, living in luxury and splendour on what is so ill acquired; while a carter, a smith, or a plowman, who works harder than a beast, and is employed in such necessary labour that no state could exist a year without it, can earn only a poor livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beast is often preferable. For the beast worketh not so incessantly, feedeth nearly as well and with more pleasure, and hath no anxiety about the future; while these men are depressed by a fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehension of want in old age; since their daily labour doth but maintain them, and no overplus is left for hereafter.

Is not that government unjust as well as ungrateful, which is so prodigal of her favours to those called gentlemen, &c. or to such as are idle, live by flattery or contriv-

ing the arts of vain pleasure, while she takes no care of those of a meaner sort, as plowmen, colliers, &c. without whom she could not subsist? But, when the public hath reaped every advantage of the services of the latter, and they become oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labours and their benefit to society are forgotten, and all the recompence they receive is, to die in misery. The rich, moreover, often endeavour to lower the wages of labourers by their unjustifiable practices, and the laws they procure to be made; so that, although it be very unjust to give such low remuneration to those who deserve so well of the public, they have added to this hardship the name and colour of justice, by procuring laws for regulating the matter.

I must therefore say, as I hope for mercy! I can have no other notion of all the other governments I see or know, than that they are a combination of the rich; who, under pretence of the public benefit, pursue their private ends, and devise every art they can invent, first of preserving, without danger, all that they have so ill acquired, and next of engaging the poor to toil for them at as low rates as possible, and of oppressing them as much as they please. And if they can but succeed in establishing these plans by the show of public authority (which passeth for the voice of the people), they are accounted laws.

Yet these wicked men, even when they have, with the most insatiate avarice, divided that among themselves which

would well have supplied all the rest, are far from that happiness which the Utopians enjoy. For the use as well as desire for money being extinguished, much anxiety and great occasions of mischief are cut off. Who seeth not that the frauds, thefts, quarrels, tumults, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, which are punished rather than restrained by law, would all cease with the value of money in the world? Mens fears, solicitudes, labours, watchings, would perish with it. Poverty itself, for whose relief money seemeth most necessary, would fall. But to apprehend this aright, take an instance.

Take any year in which thousands have died by famine. Had a survey been made at the end of that year of the granaries of the rich who had hoarded corn, it would have been found that there was enough to have prevented the misery, and that, had it been distributed, none would have felt the dreadful effects of scarcity. So easy would it be to supply every necessity of life, if that blessed thing called money, pretended to be invented for procuring them, was not in reality the only obstacle to it.

I doubt not but the rich are sensible of this, and that they are well aware how much happier it is to want nothing necessary, than to abound in superfluities; to be rescued from such misery, than to roll in such wealth. And I cannot think but every man's sense of his interest, added to the authority of Christ (who, being infinitely wise, knew what was best, and was no less good in discovering it to

us), would have drawn all mankind over to the laws of Utopia, did not pride, that plague of humanity, that source of misery, prevent it. She measureth happiness less by her own comfort than by the misery of others, and would not be satisfied with being a goddess, were none left miserable whom she might domineer. She thinketh her own happiness shines brighter by the gloom of others' misfortunes, and displayeth her wealth, that they may the more sensibly feel their poverty.

This is the infernal serpent which slinketh into the breast of man, and possesseth him too strongly to be easily drawn out. I rejoice therefore that the Utopians have fallen on this form of government, in which I wish all the world could be so wise as to imitate them. For, they have instituted so politic a scheme, that men live happily under it, and are likely to do so for a long continuance. Having rooted from the minds of their people all the seeds of ambition and faction, they have no danger of civil commotion, which alone hath been the ruin of many a state, otherwise seemingly well secured. But while they live in peace at home, governed by most excellent laws, the envy of all their neighbouring princes, who have often in vain attempted their ruin, will never be able to put them into commotion or disorder.'

When Raphael had thus finished his discourse; though many things occurred to me in the manners and laws of this people which seemed sufficiently absurd, as their art of war, their notions of religion, &c. but principally (what seemed the foundation of the rest) their living in common without the use of money, by which all nobility, splendour, and majesty, in the common opinion the true ornaments of a nation, would be destroyed; yet perceiving him to be weary, and being uncertain whether he could easily bear contradiction (for I remembered he had noticed some who seemed to think they were bound to support the credit of their wisdom, by finding something to censure in all other men's inventions), I only commended the constitution and the account he had given of it, in general terms; and, leading him to supper, said, I would find some other time for examining this subject more particularly. Indeed, I shall be glad to embrace an opportunity of so doing. Meanwhile, though it must be confessed he is a very learned man, and one who hath acquired great knowledge of the world, I cannot assent to every thing he hath said. Yet I freely confess, there are many things in the commonwealth of Utopia, which I wish, but have no hope of seeing adopted among us.

SIR THOMAS MORE'S

UNFINISHED

HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III,

FROM HIS ENGLISH WORKS.

HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III.

KING EDWARD, of that name the Fourth, after that he had lived fifty and three years 7 months and 6 days, and thereof reigned 22 years 1 month and 8 days, died at Westminster the 9th day of April the year of our redemption 1483, leaving much fair issue. That is, to-wit, Edward the prince, at 13 years of age; Richard duke of York, 2 years younger; Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was afterward to be queen, wife unto King Henry VII, and mother unto the VIII; Cecily, not so fortunate as fair; Brigette, who representing the virtue of her whose name she bare, professed and observed a religious life in Dertforde, an house of close nuns; Ann, who was afterward honourably married unto Thomas then Lord Howard and afterward earl of Surry; and Catharine, who long time tossed in either fortune, sometimes in wealth, oft in adversity, at the last (if this be the last, for yet she liveth), is by the benignity of her nephew King Henry VIII, in very prosperous estate, and worthy her birth and virtue.

This noble prince deceased at his palace of Westminster, and with great funeral honour and heaviness of his people from thence conveyed, was interred at Windsor. A king of such governance and behaviour in time of peace (for in war each part must needs be others enemy), that there was never any prince of this land, attaining the crown by battle, so heartily beloved with the substance of the people; nor he himself so specially in any part of his life, as at the time of his death. Which favour and affection yet after his decease, by the cruelty, mischief, and trouble of the tempestuous world that followed, highly toward him more increased. At such time as he died, the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for King Henry VI sake, whom he deposed, was well assuaged and in effect quenched, in that that many of them were dead in more than 20 years of his reign, a great part of a long life; and many of them in the mean season grown into his favour, of which he was never strange.

He was a goodly personage and very princely to behold, of heart courageous, politic in counsel, in adversity nothing abashed, in prosperity rather joyful than proud, in peace just and merciful, in war sharp and fierce, in the field bold and hardy, and nevertheless no farther than wisdom would adventurous. Whose wars whoso well consider, he shall no less commend his wisdom where he voided, than his manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage lovely, of body mighty, strong and clean made; howbeit in his latter days with over-liberal diet, somewhat corpulent and

boorly, and nevertheless not uncomely. He was of youth greatly given to fleshly wantonness, from which, health of body in great prosperity and fortune, without a special grace, hardly refraineth. This fault not greatly grieved the people; for neither could any one man's pleasure stretch and extend to the displeasure of very many, and was without violence, and over that in his latter days lessened and well left. In which time of his latter days, this realm was in quiet and prosperous estate; no fear of outward enemies, no war in hand, nor none toward but such as no man looked for; the people toward the prince, not in a constrained fear, but in a willing and loving obedience; among themselves, the commons in good peace; the lords whom he knew at variance, himself on his death-bed appeased. He had left all gathering of money (which is the only thing that withdraweth the hearts of Englishmen from the prince), nor any thing intended he to take in hand by which he should be driven thereto; for his tribute out of France he had before obtained, and the year foregoing his death he had obtained Berwick. And albeit that all the time of his reign he was with his people so benign, courteous and so familiar, that no part of his virtues was more esteemed, yet that condition in the end of his days (in which many princes, by a long continued sovereignty, decline into a proud port, from debonair behaviour of their beginning), marvellously in him grew and increased. So far forth, that in the summer, the last that ever he saw, his highness, being at Windsor in hunting, sent for the mayor and aldermen of London to him, for none other errand but to have them hunt and

be merry with him; where he made them not so stately, but so friendly and so familiar cheer, and sent venison from thence so freely into the city, that no one thing in many days before, gat him either more hearts or more hearty favour among the common people; who oftentimes more esteem and take for greater kindness, a little courtesy than a great benefit.

So deceased, as I have said, this noble king, in that time in which his life was most desired. Whose love of his people and their entire affection toward him, had been to his noble children (having in themselves also as many gifts of nature, as many princely virtues, as much goodly towardness, as their age could receive), a marvellous fortress and sure armour; if division and dissention of their friends had not unarmed them and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of sovereignty provoked him to their destruction, who, if either kind or kindness had holden place, must needs have been their chief defence. For Richard the duke of Gloucester, by nature their uncle, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themselves by oath and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that bind man and man together, without any respect of God or the world, unnaturally contrived to bereave them, not only of their dignity, but also their lives. But forasmuch as this duke's demeanour ministereth in effect all the whole matter whereof this book shall entreat, it is therefore convenient somewhat to shew you ere we farther go, what manner of man this was that could find in his heart so much mischief to conceive.

Richard duke of York, a noble man and a mighty, began not by war, but by law, to challenge the crown, putting his claim into the parliament. Where his cause was either for right or favour so far forth advanced, that King Henry's blood (albeit he had a goodly prince) utterly rejected, the crown was, by authority of parliament, entailed unto the duke of York and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King Henry. But the duke not enduring so long to tarry, but intending, under pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realm, to prevent his time, and to take upon him the rule in King Henry's life, was, with many nobles of the realm, at Wakefield slain, leaving three sons, Edward, George, and Richard. All three as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomach, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners. Edward revenging his father's death, deprived King Henry and attained the crown. George duke of Clarence was a goodly noble prince, and at all points fortunate, if either his own ambition had not set him against his brother, or the envy of his enemies his brother against him. For, were it by the queen and the lords of her blood, who highly maligned the king's kindred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature, hate them whom their husbands love), or were it a proud appetite of the duke himself, intending to be king; at the leastwise heinous treason was there laid to his charge, and finally, were he faulty, were he faultless, attainted was he by parliament and judged to the death, and thereupon hastily drowned in a butt of malmsey. Whose death King Edward (albeit he

commanded it), when he wist it was done, piteously bewailed and sorrowfully repented.

Richard, the third son, of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage equal with either of them; in body and prowess, far under them both; little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard favoured of visage, and such as is in states called warly, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, wrathful, envious, and from before his birth ever froward. It is for truth reported, that the duchess, his mother, had so much ado in her travail, that she could not be delivered of him uncut; and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be born outward, and (as the fame runneth) also not untoothed; whether men, of hatred, report above the truth, or else that nature changed her course in his beginning, who in the course of his life many things unnaturally committed. None evil captain was he in the war, as to which his disposition was more metely than for peace. Sundry victories had he, and sometimes overthrows, but never in default as for his own person, either of hardiness or politic order. Free was he called of dispence, and somewhat above his power liberal. With large gifts he gat him unstedfast friendship, for which he was fain to pill and spoil in other places and get him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deep dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly companionable where he inwardly hated, not letting to kiss whom he thought to kill; dispiteous and cruel, not for evil will alway, but after for

ambition, and either for the surety or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was muchwhat indifferent where his advantage grew; he spared no man's death whose life withstood his purpose.

He slew with his own hands King Henry VI (being prisoner in the Tower) as men constantly say; and that without commandment or knowledge of the king, who would undoubtedly, if he had intended that thing, have appointed that butcherly office to some other than his own born-brother. Some wise men also ween, that his drift covertly conveyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death; which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly than he that were heartily minded to his wealth. And they who thus deem, think that he long time in King Edward's life forethought to be king, in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that evil diet should shorten), should happen to decease (as indeed he did), while his children were young. And they deem, that for this intent he was glad of his brother's death the duke of Clarence, whose life must needs have hindered him so intending, whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew the young king, or enterprised to be king himself. But of all this point is there no certainty, and whoso divineth upon conjectures may as well shoot too far as too short. Howbeit this have I by credible information learned, that the self night in which King Edward died, one Mystlebrooke long ere morning

came in great haste to the house of one Pottyer, dwelling in Redcross-street without Cripplegate, and when he was with hasty rapping quickly letten-in, he shewed unto Pottyer that King Edward was departed. *By my truth man*, quoth Pottyer, *then will my master the duke of Gloucester be king.* What cause he had so to think, hard it is to say, whether he being toward him any thing knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had any inkling thereof; for he was not likely to speak it of nought.

But now to return to the course of this history. Were it that the duke of Gloucester had of old foreminded this conclusion, or was now at first thereunto moved and put in hope, by the occasion of the tender age of the young princes his nephews (as opportunity and likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that he never intended), certain is it that he contrived their destruction, with the usurpation of the regal dignity upon himself. And forasmuch as he well wist and helped to maintain a long-continued grudge and heart-burning between the queen's kindred and the king's blood, either party envying other's authority, he now thought that their division should be (as it was indeed) a farthering beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground for the foundation of all his building; if he might first, under the pretext of revenging old displeasure, abuse the anger and ignorance of the one party to the destruction of the other, and then win to his purpose as many as he could, and those that could not be won might be lost ere they looked therefore. For of one thing was he certain,

that if his intent were perceived, he should soon have made peace between the both parties with his own blood.

King Edward in his life, albeit that this dissention between his friends somewhat irked him, yet in his good health he somewhat the less regarded it, because he thought whatsoever business should fall between them, himself should alway be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sickness, when he perceived his natural strength so sore enfeebled that he despaired all recovery, then he considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing less mistrusted than that that happened, yet well foreseeing that many harms might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lack discretion of themselves and good counsel of their friends (of which either party should counsel for their own commodity, and rather by pleasant advice to win themselves favour, than by profitable advertisement to do the children good), he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especial the Lord Marquis Dorset, the queen's son by her first husband, and Richard the Lord Hastings, a noble man then lord-chamberlain, against whom the queen specially grudged for the great favour the king bare him, and also for that she thought him secretly familiar with the king in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him captain of Calais (which office the Lord Rivers, brother to the queen, claimed of the king's former promise), as for divers other great gifts which he received, that they looked for. When these lords, with divers others of both the par-

ties, were come in presence, the king lifting-up himself and underset with pillows, as it is reported, on this wise said unto them.

'My lords, my dear kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lie, ye see and I feel. By which the less while I look to live with ye, the more deeply am I moved to care in what case I leave ye; for such as I leave ye, such be my children like to find ye. Who, if they should (that God forbid!) find ye at variance, might hap to fall themselves at war ere their discretion would serve to set ye at peace. Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the only surety to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all ye love them, if each of ye hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness haply would suffice. But childhood must be maintained by men's authority, and slippery youth underpropped with elder counsel, which neither they can have but ye give it, nor ye give it if ye agree not. For where each laboureth to break that the other maketh, and, for hatred of each other's person, impugneth each other's counsel, there must it needs be long ere any good conclusion go forward. And also while either party laboureth to be chief, flattery shall have more place than plain and faithful advice. Of which must needs ensue the evil bringing-up of the prince, whose mind in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to mischief and riot, and draw down with it this noble realm to ruin. But if grace turn him to wisdom, which if God send, then they who by evil means before pleased him best, shall after fall farthest out of favour;

so that ever at length evil drifts drive to nought, and good plain ways prosper.

'Great variance hath there long been between ye, not alway for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended our misconstruction turneth unto worse, or a small displeasure done us either our own affection or evil tongues agrieveth. But this wot I well, ye never had so great cause of hatred as ye have of love. That we be all men, that we be christian men, this shall I leave for preachers to tell ye; and yet I wot neither, whether any preacher's words ought more to move ye, than his who is by and by going to the place which they all preach of. But this shall I desire ye to remember, that the one part of ye is of my blood, the other of mine allies, and each of ye with other either of kindred or affinity. Which spiritual kindred or affinity, if the sacraments of Christ's church bore that weight with us, which would God they did, should no less move us to charity than the respect of fleshly consanguinity. Our Lord forbid, that ye love together the worse for the self cause that ye ought to love the better! And yet that happeneth. And nowhere find we so deadly debate, as among them who by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of vain-glory and sovereignty! Who, among states where he once entereth, creepeth forth so far, till with division and variance he turneth all to mischief; first longing to be next the best, afterward equal with the best, and at last chief and above the best. Of which immoderate appetite of

worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what loss, what sorrow, what trouble hath within these few years grown in this realm, I pray God as well forget as we well remember! Which things, if I could as well have foreseen, as I have with my more pain than pleasure proved, by God's blessed Lady *(that was ever his oath)*, I would never have won the courtesy of men's knees with the loss of so many heads!

'But since things past cannot be recalled, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we have taken so great hurt afore, that we eftsoons fall not in that occasion again. Now be those griefs past, and all is, God be thanked! quiet and likely right well to prosper in wealthful peace under your cousins, my children, if God send them life and ye love. Of which two things, the less loss were they. By whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realm alway find kings, and peradventure as good kings. But if ye among yourselves, in a child's reign, fall at debate, many a good man shall perish, and haply he too, and ye too, ere this land find peace again. Wherefore, in these last words that ever I look to speak with ye, I exhort ye and require ye all, for the love that ye have ever borne to me, for the love that I have ever borne to ye, for the love that our Lord beareth to us all, from this time forward, all griefs forgotten, each of ye love other. Which I verily trust ye will, if ye any thing earthly regard, either God or your king, affinity or kindred, this realm, your own country, or your own surety.'

And therewithal the king no longer enduring to sit up, laid him down on his right side, his face toward them; and none was there present that could refrain from weeping. But the lords, recomforting him with as good words as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their words appeared, each forgave other and joined their hands together, when, as it after appeared by their deeds, their hearts were far asunder.

As soon as the king was departed, the noble prince, his son, drew toward London, who, at the time of his decease, kept his household at Ludlow in Wales. Which country, being far off from the law and recourse to justice, was begun to be far out of good will and waxen wild, robbers and rivers *(ruffians)* walking at liberty uncorrected. And for this encheason *(cause)* the prince was, in the life of his father, sent thither, to the end that the authority of his presence should restrain evil-disposed persons from the boldness of their former outrages. To the governance and ordering of this young prince at his sending thither, was there appointed Sir Anthony Wodvile, Lord Rivers, and brother unto the queen, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politic in counsel. Adjoined were there unto him others of the same party; and in effect, every one as he was nearest of kin unto the queen, so was planted next about the prince.

That drift, by the queen not unwisely devised, whereby

her blood might of youth be rooted in the prince's favour, the duke of Gloucester turned unto their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappy building. For, whomsoever he perceived either at variance with them, or bearing himself their favour, he brake unto them, some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that it neither was reason nor in anywise to be suffered, that the young king, their master and kinsman, should be in the hands and custody of his mother's kindred, sequestered in a manner from their company and attendance, of which every one owed him as faithful service as they, and many of them far more honourable part of kin than his mother's side. 'Whose blood, quoth he, saving the king's pleasure, was full unmetely to be matched with his; which now to be, as we say, removed from the king and the less noble to be left about him, is, quoth he, neither honourable to his majesty nor unto us; and also to his grace no surety, to have the mightiest of his friends from him; and unto us no little jeopardy, to suffer our well-proved evil willers to grow in over-great authority with the prince in youth, which is light of belief and soon persuaded.

'Ye remember I trow King Edward himself, albeit he was a man of age and of discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the band, more than stood either with his honour or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except only the immoderate advancement of themselves. Who, whether they sorer thirsted after their own weal or our woe, it were hard I ween to guess. And if

some folks' friendship had not holden better place with the king than any respect of kindred, there might peradventure easily have been trapped and brought to confusion some of us ere this. Why not as easily as they have done some other already, as near of his royal blood as we. But our Lord hath wrought his will, and, thank be to his grace! that peril is past. Howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this young king in our enemy's hand; who, without his witting, might abuse the name of his commandment to any of our undoing, which thing God and good provision forbid. Of which good provision none of us hath any thing the less need for the late made atonement, in which the king's pleasure had more place than the parties' wills. Nor none of us, I believe, is so unwise, oversoon to trust a new friend made of an old foe; or to think that an hourly kindness, suddenly contracted in one hour, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomachs, than a long-accustomed malice many years rooted.'

With these words and writings, and such other, the duke of Gloucester soon set a-fire them who were of themselves ready to kindle; and in especial twain, Edward duke of Buckingham, and Richard, Lord Hastings and chamberlain, both men of honour and of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestry, the other by his office and the king's favour. These two, not bearing each to other so much love as hatred both unto the queen's party, in this point accorded together with the duke of Gloucester, that they would utterly remove from the king's company

all his mother's friends, under the name of their enemies. Upon this concluded, the duke of Gloucester understanding, that the lords, who at that time were about the king, intended to bring him up to his coronation, accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to pass, without the gathering and great assembly of people, and in manner of open war, whereof the end he wist was doubtful, and in which, the king being on their side, his part should have the face and name of a rebellion; he secretly therefore, by divers means, caused the queen to be persuaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were need, and also should be jeopardous, the king to come-up strong. For, whereas now every lord loved other, and none other thing studied upon but about the coronation and honour of the king, if the lords of her kindred should assemble in the king's name much people, they should give the lords, betwixt whom and them had been some time debate, to fear and suspect, lest they should gather this people, not for the king's safeguard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, having more regard to their old variance than their new atonement. For which cause, they should assemble on the other party much people again for their defence, whose power she wist well-far stretched; and thus should all the realm fall on a roar. And of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be little, and the most harm there like to fall where she least would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the weight, and say, that they had unwisely, and untruly also, broken the amity and peace, which the

king her husband so prudently made between his kin and hers, on his death-bed, and which the other party faithfully observed.

The queen, being in this wise persuaded, such word sent unto her son, and unto her brother, being about the king. And over that, the duke of Gloucester himself, and other lords the chief of his band, wrote unto the king so reverently, and to the queen's friends there so lovingly, that they, nothing earthly mistrusting, brought the king up in great haste, not in good speed, with a sober company.

Now was the king, in his way to London, gone from Northampton, when these dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham came thither. Where remained behind the Lord Rivers, the king's uncle, intending on the morrow to follow the king and be with him at Stony Stratford, thirteen miles thence, earlier than he departed. So was there made that night much friendly cheer, between these dukes and the Lord Rivers, a great while. But, incontinent after that they were openly with great courtesy departed and the Lord Rivers lodged, the dukes secretly, with a few of their most privy friends, set them down in council, wherein they spent a great part of the night. And at their rising in the dawning of the day, they sent about privily to their servants in their inns and lodgings about, giving them commandment to make themselves shortly ready, for their lords were to horsebackward. Upon which messages, many of their folk were attendant, when many of the Lord Rivers'

servants were unready. Now, had these dukes taken also into their custody the keys of the inn, that none should pass-forth without their licence. And, over this, in the highway toward Stony Stratford, where the king lay, they had bestowed certain of their folk, that should send back again and compel to return, any man that was gotten out of Northampton toward Stony Stratford, till they should give other licence. Forasmuch as the dukes themselves intended, for the shew of their diligence, to be the first that should that day attend upon the king's highness out of that town, thus bare they folk in hand.

But when the Lord Rivers understood the gates closed and the ways on every side beset, neither his servants nor himself suffered to go out, perceiving well so great a thing without his knowledge not begun for nought, comparing this manner present with the last night's cheer, in so few hours so great a change marvelously misliked. Howbeit, since he could not get away, and keep himself close he would not, lest he should seem to hide himself for some secret fear of his own fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himself, he determined, upon the surety of his own conscience, to go boldly to them and inquire what this matter might mean. Whom, as soon as they saw, they began to quarrel with him, and say that he intended to set distance between the king and them, and to bring them to confusion; but it should not lie in his power. And when be began (as he was a very well-spoken man) in goodly wise to excuse himself, they tarried not the end of his answer, but

shortly took him and put him in ward, and that done, forthwith went to horseback and took the way to Stony Stratford. Where they found the king with his company, ready to leap on horseback and depart forward, to leave that lodging for them, because it was too straight for both companies. And, as soon as they came in his presence, they lighted adown, with all their company about them. To whom the duke of Buckingham said, *go afore gentlemen and yeomen, keep your rooms.* And thus, in a goodly array, they came to the king, and on their knees, in very humble wise, saluted his grace. Who received them in very joyous and amiable manner, nothing earthly knowing nor mistrusting as yet.

But even by and by, in his presence, they picked a quarrel to the Lord Richard Graye, the king's other brother by his mother, saying that he, with the Lord Marquis his brother, and the Lord Rivers his uncle, had compassed to rule the king and the realm, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realm. Toward the accomplishing whereof, they said that the Lord Marquis had entered into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the king's treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which things these dukes wist well were done for good purposes and necessary, by the whole council at London, saving that somewhat they must say. Unto which words the king answered, *what my brother Marquis hath done I cannot say, but in good faith I dare well answer for mine uncle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent*

of any such matters. 'Yea, my liege,' (quoth the duke of Buckingham) 'they have kept their dealing in these matters far from the knowledge of your good grace;' and forthwith they arrested the Lord Richard and Sir Thomas Waughan, knight, in the king's presence, and brought the king and all, back unto Northampton, where they took again farther counsel.

And there they sent away from the king whom it pleased them, and set new servants about him, such as liked better them than him. At which dealing, he wept and was nothing content, but it booted not. And at dinner, the duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his own table to the Lord Rivers, praying him to be of good cheer, all should be well enough. And he thanked the duke, and prayed the messenger to bear it to his nephew the Lord Richard, with the same message for his comfort, who he thought had more need of comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but himself had been all his days in ure therewith, and therefore could bear it the better. But for all this comfortable courtesy of the duke of Gloucester, he sent the Lord Rivers and the Lord Richard, with Sir Thomas Waughan, into the north country, into divers places, to prison, and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

In this wise the duke of Gloucester took upon himself the order and governance of the young king, whom, with much honour and humble reverence, he conveyed upward

toward the city. But anon the tidings of this matter came hastily to the queen a little before the midnight following, and that in the sorest wise, that the king, her son, was taken, her brother, her son, and her other friends arrested and sent no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings the queen in great fright and heaviness, bewailing her child's ruin, her friends' mischance, and her own infortune, damning the time that ever she dissuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat herself in all haste possible, with her younger son and her daughters, out of the palace of Westminster, in which she then lay, into the sanctuary, lodging herself and her company there, in the abbot's place.

Now came there one in likewise, not long after midnight, from the lord-chamberlain, unto the archbishop of York, then chancellor of England, to his place not far from Westminster. And for that he shewed his servants that he had tidings of so great importance, that his master gave him in charge not to forbear his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in to his bed-side. Of whom he heard, that these dukes were gone back with the king's grace from Stony Stratford unto Northampton. *Notwithstanding, Sir,* quoth he, *my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no fear; for he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him,* quoth the archbishop, *be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it.*

And thereupon, by and by, after the messenger departed,

he caused in all haste all his servants to be called-up; and so with his own household about him, and every man weaponed, he took the great seal with him, and came yet before day unto the queen. About whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste, and business, carriage and conveyance of her stuff into sanctuary, chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trusses, all on mens' backs, no man unoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that help to carry a wrong way. The queen herself sat alone, alow on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed; whom the archbishop comforted in the best manner he could, shewing her that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she took it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of fear, by the message sent him from the lord-chamberlain.

Ah woe worthy him, quoth she, *for he is one of them that laboureth to destroy me and my blood. Madam,* quoth he, *be you of good cheer; for I assure you if they crown any other king than your son, whom they now have with them, we shall on the morrow crown his brother whom you have here with you. And here is the great seal, which in like wise as that noble prince your husband delivered it unto me, so here I deliver it unto you to the use and behoof of your son.* And therewith he betook her the great seal, and departed home again yet in the dawning of the day.

By which time he might, in his chamber window, see all

the Thames full of boats of the duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no man should go to sanctuary, nor none could pass unsearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about as specially in the city, the people diversly divining upon this dealing. And some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for favour of the queen or for fear of themselves, assembled in sundry companies and went flockmeal in harness *(armour)*; and many also, for that they reckoned this demeanour, attempted not so specially against the other lords, as against the king himself in the disturbance of his coronation.

But then by and by the lords assembled together at ——. Toward which meeting, the archbishop of York, fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to his overmuch lightness, that he so suddenly had yielded-up the great seal to the queen, to whom the custody thereof nothing pertained without especial commandment of the king, secretly sent for the seal again, and brought it with him after the customable manner. And at this meeting, the Lord Hastings, whose truth toward the king no man doubted nor needed to doubt, persuaded the lords to believe that the duke of Gloucester was sure and fastly faithful to his prince; and that the Lord Rivers and Lord Richard, with the other knights, were, for matters attempted by them against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, put under arrest for their surety, not for the king's jeopardy. And that they were also in safeguard, and there no longer should remain

than till the matter were, not by the dukes only, but also by all the other lords of the king's council, indifferently examined, and by other discretions ordered and either judged or appeased.

But one thing he advised them beware, that they judged not the matter too far-forth ere they knew the truth; nor, turning their private grudges into the common hurt, exciting and provoking men unto anger, and disturbing the king's coronation (toward which the dukes were coming up), that they might peradventure bring the matter so far out of joint, that it should never be brought in frame again. Which strife, if it should hap, as it were likely, to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authority be on that side where the king is himself.

With these persuasions of the Lord Hastings, whereof part himself believed, of part he wist the contrary, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But specially by that, that the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were so near, and came so shortly on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice or semblance, than to his coronation; causing the fame to be blown about, that these lords and knights who were taken, had contrived the destruction of the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realm, to the end that themselves would alone demean and govern the king at their pleasure.

And for the colourable proof thereof, such of the dukes servants as rode with the carts of their stuff that were taken (among which stuff no marvail, though some were harness, which, at the breaking-up of that household, must needs either be brought away or cast away), they shewed unto the people all the way as they went; *lo here be the barrels of harness that these traitors had privily conveyed in their carriage, to destroy the noble lords withal.* This device, albeit that it made the matter to wise men more unlikely, well perceiving that the intenders of such a purpose would rather have had their harness on their backs than to have bound them up in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith very well satisfied, and said it were almoise to hang them.

When the king approached near to the city, Edmund Sha, goldsmith, then mayor, with William White and John Mathewe, sheriffs, and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with five hundred horse of the citizens in violet, received him reverently at Hornsey; and riding from thence, accompanied him into the city, which he entered the fourth day of May, the first and last year of his reign. But the duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reverently to the prince, with all semblance of lowliness, that from the great obloquy in which he was so late before, he was suddenly fallen in so great trust, that at the council next assembled, he was made the only man chose and thought most meet, to be protector of the king and his realm; so that, were it destiny or were it folly, the lamb was betaken to the wolf to keep.

At which council also, the archbishop of York, chancellor of England, who had delivered up the great seal to the queen, was thereof greatly reproved, and the seal taken from him, and delivered to Doctor Russell, bishop of Lincoln, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best-learned men undoubtedly that England had in his time. Divers lords and knights were appointed unto divers rooms. The lord-chamberlain and some others, kept still their offices that they had before.

Now, all were it so, that the protector so sore thirsted for the finishing of that he had begun, that he thought every day a year till it were atchieved, yet durst he no farther attempt as long as he had but half his prey in his hand. Well witting, that if he deposed the one brother, all the realm would fall to the other, if he either remained in sanctuary, or should haply be shortly conveyed to his farther liberty.

Wherefore incontinent, at the next meeting of the lords at the council, he proposed unto them, that it was a heinous deed of the queen, and proceeding of great malice toward the king's counsellors, that she should keep in sanctuary the king's brother from him, whose special pleasure and comfort were to have his brother with him; and that by her done to none other intent, but to bring all the lords in obloquy and murmur of the people. As though *they* were not to be trusted with the king's brother, who, by the assent of the nobles of the land, were appointed, as the

king's nearest friends, to the tuition of his own royal person.

'The prosperity whereof standeth,' quoth he, 'not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure; which he cannot in this tender youth take in the company of ancient persons, but in the familiar conversation of those who be neither far under nor far above his age, and nevertheless of estate convenient to accompany his noble majesty. Wherefore with whom rather than with his own brother? And if any man think this consideration (which I think no man thinketh who loveth the king) let him consider, that sometimes without small things greater cannot stand. And verily it redoundeth greatly to the dishonour, both of the king's highness and of all us who be about his grace, to have it run in every man's mouth, not in this realm only, but also in other lands (as evil words walk far), that the king's brother should be fain to keep sanctuary. For every man will ween, that no man will so do for nought; and such evil opinion, once fastened in men's hearts, hard it is to wrest out, and may grow to more grief than any man here can divine.

'Wherefore methinketh, it were not worst, to send unto the queen, for the redress of this matter, some honourable trusty man, such as both tendereth the king's weal and the honour of his council, and is also in favour and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth me more meetly, than our reverend father here pre-

sent, my lord cardinal, who may in this matter do most good of any man, if it please him to take the pain. Which, I doubt not, of his goodness he will not refuse, for the king's sake and ours, and wealth of the young duke himself, the king's most honourable brother, and, after my sovereign lord himself, my most dear nephew; considered, that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and obloquy now going, and the hurts avoided that thereof might ensue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the realm.

'And if she be percase so obstinate, and so precisely set upon her own will, that neither his wise and faithful advertisement can move her, nor any man's reason content her; then shall we, by mine advice, by the king's authority fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence. In whose continual company he shall be so well cherished and so honourably entreated, that all the world shall, to our honour and her reproach, perceive that it was only malice, frowardness or folly, that caused her to keep him there. This is my mind in this matter for this time, except any of your lordships any thing perceive to the contrary. For never shall I, by God's grace, so wed myself to mine own will, but that I shall be ready to change it upon your better advices.'

When the protector had said, all the council affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the duke his brother honourable, and a thing that should

cease great murmur in the realm, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliver him. Which thing the archbishop of York, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most convenient, took upon him to move her, and therein to do his uttermost endeavour. Howbeit, if she could be in nowise entreated, with her good will to deliver him, then thought he and such other as were of the spiritualty present, that it were not in anywise to be attempted to take him out against her will. For it would be a thing that should turn to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that holy place should now be broken; which had so many years been kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was, more than five hundred years ago, by S^t^. Peter, his own person in spirit, accompanied with great multitude of angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God (for the proof whereof, they have yet in the abbey S^t^. Peter's cope to shew), that from that time hitherward, was there never so undevout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holy a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.

'And therefore,' quoth the archbishop of York, 'God forbid that any man should, for any thing earthly, enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred sanctuary, which hath been the safeguard of so many a good man's life. And I trust,' quoth he, 'with God's grace we shall not need it. But, for any manner of need, I would not we should do it. I trust that she shall be with

reason contented and all things in good manner obtained. And if it happen that I bring it not so to pass, yet shall I toward it so far forth do my best, that ye shall all well perceive, that no lack of my endeavour, but the mother's dread and womanish fear, shall be the let.'

'Womanish fear, nay, womanish frowardness,' quoth the duke of Buckingham. 'For I dare take it upon my soul, she well knoweth she needeth no such thing to fear, either for her son or for herself. For as for her, here is no man who will be at war with women. Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soon in rest! Howbeit there is none of her kin the less loved for that they be her kin, but for their own evil deserving. And, nevertheless, if we loved neither her nor her kin, yet were there no cause to think that we should hate the king's noble brother, to whose Grace we ourselves be of kin. Whose honour if she as much desired as our dishonour, and as much regard took to his wealth as to her own will, she would be as loath to suffer him from the king as any of us be. For, if she have any wit (as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit), she reckoneth herself no wiser than she thinketh some that be here; of whose faithful mind she nothing doubteth, but verily believeth and knoweth, that they would be as sorry of his harm as herself, and yet would have him from her if she abide there; and were all (I think) content, that both be with her, if she come thence and abide in such place where they may with their honour be.

'Now then if she refuse, in the deliverance of him, to follow the counsel of them whose wisdom she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth, it is easy to perceive, that frowardness letteth her and not fear. But go to suppose that she fear (as who may let her to fear her own shadow), the more she feareth to deliver him, the more ought we to fear to leave him in her hands. For if she cast such fond doubts, that she fear his hurt, then will she fear that he shall be fetched thence. For she will soon think, that if men were set (which God forbid!) upon so great a mischief, the sanctuary would little let them; which good men might, as methinketh, without sin, somewhat less regard than they do.

'Now then if she doubt lest he might be fetched from her, is it not likely enough, that she shall send him somewhere out of the realm? Verily I look for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to pass (as it were no great mastery, we letting her alone) all the world would say that we were a *wise* sort of counsellors about a king, who let his brother be cast-away under our noses. And therefore I ensure you faithfully, for my mind, I will rather, maugre her mind, fetch him away, than leave him there till her frowardness or fond fear convey him away.

'And yet will I break no sanctuary therefore. For verily, since the privileges of that place and otherlike have been of long continued, I am not he who would be about

to break them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he who should be about to make them. Yet will I not say nay, but that it is a deed of pity, that such men as the sea or their evil debtors have brought in poverty, should have some place of liberty to keep their bodies out of the danger of their cruel creditors. And also, if the crown happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either party taketh other as traitors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both.

'But as for thieves, of which these places be full, and which never fall from the craft after they once fall thereto, it is pity the sanctuary should serve them. And much more mankillers, whom God bad to take from the altar and kill them if their murder were wilful. And where it is otherwise, there need we not the sanctuaries w ich God appointed in the old law; for, if either necessity, his own defence, or misfortune, draw him to that deed, a pardon serveth, which either the law granteth of course, or the king of pity may.

'Then look me now how few sanctuary-men there be, whom any favourable necessity compelled to go thither; and then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein of them whom wilful unthriftyness hath brought to nought. What a rabble of thieves, murderers, and malicious, heinous traitors; and that in two places specially; the one at the elbow of the city, the other in the very bowels. I dare well avow it, weigh the good that

they do with the hurt that cometh of them, and ye shall find it much better to lack both than have both. And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be and so long have been, that I fear me ever they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the amendment; as though God and S^t. Peter were the patrons of ungracious living.

'Now, unthrifts riot and run in debt, upon the boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor mens' goods. There they build, there they spend, and bid their creditors go whistle them. Men's wives run thither with their husbands' plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and there live thereon. There devise they new robberies, nightly they steal out, they rob, and reave, and kill, and come in again, as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harm they have done but a licence also to do more. Howbeit much of this mischief, if wise men would set their hands to it, might be amended, with great thank of God and no breach of the privilege.

'The residue, since so long ago I wot neither what pope and what prince (more piteous than politic) hath granted it, and other men since of a certain religious fear have not broken it, let us take a pain therewith, and let it a God's name stand in force as far forth as reason will. Which is not fully so far forth, as may serve to let us of the fetching

forth of this nobleman to his honour and wealth, out of that place in which he neither is nor can be a sanctuary-man.

'A sanctuary serveth alway to defend the body of that man who standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt only, but also of lawful hurt. For, against unlawful harms, never pope nor king intended to privilege any one place; for that privilege hath every place. Knoweth any man any place, wherein it is lawful one man to do another wrong? That no man unlawfully take hurt, *that*, liberty, the king, the law, and very nature, forbiddeth in every place, and maketh to that regard, for every man every place a sanctuary. But where a man is by lawful means in peril, there needeth he the tuition of some special privilege; which is the only ground and cause of all sanctuaries. From which necessity, this noble prince is far; whose love to his king, nature and kindred proveth; whose innocence to all the world, his tender youth proveth.

'And so sanctuary as for him, neither none he needeth nor also none can have. Men come not to sanctuary as they come to baptism, to require it by their godfathers. He must ask it himself that must have it; and with reason; since no man hath cause to have it but whose conscience of his own fault maketh him feign need to require it. What will then hath yonder babe? Who, and if he had discretion to require it if need were, I dare say, would now be right angry with them who keep him there. And I would think,

without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of privilege, to be somewhat more homely with them who be there sanctuary-men indeed. For if one go to sanctuary with another man's goods, why should not the king, leaving his body at liberty, satisfy the part of his goods even within the sanctuary? for neither king nor pope can give any place such a privilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to pay.'

And with that, divers of the clergy who were present, whether they said it for his pleasure or as they thought, agreed plainly, that by the law of God and of the church, the goods of a sanctuary-man should be delivered in payment of his debts, and stolen goods to the owner, and only liberty reserved him to get his living with the labour of his hands.

'Verily,' quoth the duke, 'I think ye say very truth. And what if a man's wife will take sanctuary because she list to run from her husband, I would ween, if she can allege none other cause, he may lawfully, without any displeasure to S^t^. Peter, take her out of S^t^. Peter's church by the arm. And if nobody may be taken out of sanctuary that saith he will abide there, then if a child will take sanctuary because he feareth to go to school, his master must let him alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there less reason in our case than in that. For therein, though it be a childish fear, yet is there at the leastwise some fear; and herein is there none at all. And verily, I

have often heard of sanctuary-men, but I never heard erst of sanctuary-children.

'And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, whoso may have deserved to need it, if they think it for their surety, let them keep it. But he can be no sanctuary-man who neither hath wisdom to desire it, nor malice to deserve it; whose life or liberty can by no lawful process stand in jeopardy. And he who taketh one out of sanctuary to do him good, I say plainly that he breaketh no sanctuary.'

When the duke had done, the temporal men wholly, and good part of the spiritual also, thinking none hurt earthly meant toward the young babe, condescended in effect, that if he were not delivered he should be fetched. Howbeit they thought it all best, in the avoiding of all manner of rumour, that the lord cardinal should first essay to get him with her good-will; and thereupon all the council came unto the star-chamber at Westminster. And the lord cardinal, leaving the protector with the council in the star-chamber, departed into the sanctuary to the queen, with divers other lords with him; were it for the respect of his honour, or that she should, by presence of so many, perceive that this errand was not one man's mind; or were it for that the protector intended not in this matter to trust any one man alone; or else, that if she finally were determined to keep him, some of that company had haply secret instruction, incontinent maugre his mind, to take him, and to leave her no respite to convey him, which she was likely to mind

after this matter broken to her if her time would in anywise serve her.

When the queen and these lords were come together in presence, the lord cardinal shewed unto her, that it was thought unto the protector and unto the whole council, that her keeping of the king's brother in that place was the thing which highly sounded, not only to the great rumour of the people and their obloquy, but also to the insupportable grief and displeasure of the king's royal majesty. To whose Grace it were as singular comfort to have his natural brother in company, as it was their both dishonour, and all theirs and hers also, to suffer him in sanctuary; as though the one brother stood in danger and peril of the other.

And he shewed her, that the council therefore had sent him unto her, to require her the delivery of him; that he might be brought unto the king's presence at his liberty, out of that place which they reckoned as a prison, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate. And she in this doing, should both do great good to the realm, pleasure to the council and profit to herself, succour to her friends who were in distress, and over that (which he wist well she specially tendered), not only great comfort and honour to the king, but also to the young duke himself. Whose both great wealth it were to be together, as well for many greater causes, as also for their both disport and recreation. Which thing the lords esteemed no slight, though it seem light; well pondering that their youth without re-

creation and play cannot endure, nor any stranger for the convenience of their both ages and estates so metely in that point for any of them, as either of them for other.

'My lord,' quoth the queen, 'I say not nay but that it were very convenient, that this gentleman whom you require, were in the company of the king his brother. And in good faith methinketh, it were as great commodity to them both, as for yet a while, to be in the custody of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but specially the younger. Who, beside his infancy that also needeth good looking-to, hath a while been so sore diseased, vexed with sickness, and is so newly rather a little amended than well recovered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping but myself only. Considering that there is, as physicians say, and as we also find, double the peril in the recidivation that was in the first sickness; with which disease nature being fore-laboured, fore-wearied and weakened, waxeth the less able to bear-out a new surfeit. And albeit there might be founden others who would haply do their best unto him, yet is there none who either knoweth better how to order him than I who so long have kept him, or is more tenderly like to cherish him than his own mother who bare him.'

'No man denieth, good madam,' quoth the cardinal, 'but that your Grace were of all folk most necessary about your children. And so would all the council not only be content, but also glad that you were, if it might stand with

your pleasure to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you appoint yourself to tarry here, then think they yet more convenient, that the duke of York were with the king honourably at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, than here as a sanctuary-man to their both dishonour and obloquy. Since there is not alway so great necessity to have the child be with the mother, but that occasion may sometime be such, that it should be more expedient to keep him elsewhere. Which in this well appeareth; that at such time as your dearest son, then prince and now king, should, for his honour and good order of the country, keep household in Wales, far out of your company, your Grace was well content therewith yourself.'

'Not very well content,' quoth the queen, 'and yet the case is not like. For the one was then in health, and the other is now sick. In which case I marvel greatly that my lord protector is so desirous to have him in his keeping, where, if the child in his sickness miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing so sore against my child's honour and theirs also, that he abideth in this place, it is all their honours there to suffer him abide where no man doubteth he shall be best kept. And that is here, while I am here; who as yet intend not to come forth and jeopard myself after other of my friends, who would God were rather here in surety with me than I were there in jeopardy with them!'

'Why madam,' quoth another lord, 'know you any thing why they should be in jeopardy?'

'Nay, verily, sir,' quoth she, 'nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is I trow no great marvel, though I fear, lest those who have not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause.'

The cardinal made a countenance to the other lord, that he should harp no more upon that string. And then said he to the queen, that he nothing doubted, but that those lords of her honourable kin, who as yet remained under arrest, should, upon the matter examined, do well enough. And as toward her noble person, neither was there nor could be, any manner of jeopardy.

'Whereby should I trust that,' quoth the queen. 'In that I am guiltless?—as though they were guilty; in that I am with their enemies better beloved than they?—when they hate them for my sake; in that I am so near of kin to the king?—and how far be they off, if that would help, as God send grace it hurt not! And therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my son, I mind that he shall be where I am till I see farther. For I assure you, for that I see some men so greedy, without any substantial cause, to have him, this maketh me much the more farther to deliver him.'

'Truly madam,' quoth he, 'and the farther that you be to deliver him, the farther be other men to suffer you to keep him, lest your causeless fear might cause you farther to convey him. And many be there who think, that he can have no privilege in this place, who neither can have will to ask it nor malice to deserve it. And therefore they reckon no privilege broken though they fetch him out; which, if you finally refuse to deliver him, I verily think they will. So much dread hath my lord his uncle, for the tender love he beareth him, lest your Grace should hap to send him away.'

'Ah sir,' quoth the queen, 'hath the protector so tender zeal to him, that he feareth nothing but lest he should escape him? Thinketh he that I would send him hence, who neither is in the plight to send out, and in what place could I reckon him sure if he be not sure in this, the sanctuary whereof was there never tyrant yet so devilish that durst presume to break? And I trust God as strong now to withstand his adversaries as ever he was! But my son can deserve no sanctuary, and therefore he cannot have it; forsooth he hath founden a goodly gloss by which that place that may defend a thief may not save an innocent! But he is in no jeopardy nor hath no need thereof; would God he had not! Troweth the protector (I pray God he may prove a protector!) troweth he that I perceive not whereunto his painted process draweth?

'It is not honourable that the duke abide here; it were

comfortable for them both that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a playfellow be ye sure. I pray God send them both better playfellows than him, who maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext. As though there could none be founden to play with the king, but if his brother, who hath no lust to play for sickness, come out of sanctuary, out of his safeguard, to play with him! As though princes as young as they be could not play but with their peers, or children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the more part they agree much worse than with strangers! But the child cannot require the privilege; who told him so? he shall hear him ask it an he will.

'Howbeit this is a gay matter. Suppose he could not ask it, suppose he would not ask it, suppose he would ask to go out, if I say he shall not, if I ask the privilege but for myself, I say he who against my will taketh out him breaketh the sanctuary. Serveth this liberty for my person only, or for my goods too? Ye may not hence take my horse from me, and may ye take my child from me? He is also my ward; for, as my learned counsel sheweth me, since he hath nothing by descent holden by knight's service, the law maketh his mother his guardian. Then may no man I suppose take my ward from me out of sanctuary, without the breach of the sanctuary. And if my privilege could not serve him, nor he ask it for himself, yet since the law committeth to me the custody of him, I may require it for him; except the law give a child a guardian only for his

goods and his lands, discharging him of the cure and safe-keeping of his body, for which only both lands and goods serve.

'And if examples be sufficient to obtain privilege for my child, I need not far to seek. For in this place in which we now be, and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it, mine other son, now king, was born, and kept in his cradle, and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And, as all ye know, this is not the first time that I have taken sanctuary. For, when my lord my husband was banished and thrust out of his kingdom, I fled hither, being great with child, and here I bare the prince. And when my lord my husband returned safe again and had the victory, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe, the prince, unto his father, when he first took him in his arms. And I pray God that my son's palace may be as great safeguard to him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the king's enemy. In which place I entered to keep his brother since.

'Wherefore, here intend I to keep him, since man's law serveth the guardian to keep the infant. The law of nature wills the mother keep her child. God's law privilegeth the sanctuary, and the sanctuary my son; since I fear to put him in the protector's hands, who hath his brother already, and were, if both failed, inheritor to the crown. The cause of my fear hath no man to do to examine. And yet

fear I no farther than the law feareth; which, as learned men tell me, forbiddeth every man the custody of them by whose death he may inherit less land than a kingdom. I can no more. But whosoever he be who breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God shortly send him need of sanctuary when he may not come to it; for, taken out of sanctuary, would I not my mortal enemy were.'

The lord cardinal perceiving that the queen waxed ever the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and speak sore biting words against the protector, and such as he neither believed and was also loath to hear, he said unto her for a final conclusion, that he would no longer dispute the matter. But if she were content to deliver the duke to him and to the other lords there present, he durst lay his own body and soul both in pledge, not only for his surety but also for his estate. And if she would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewithal, and shift whoso would with this business afterward; for he never intended more to move her in the matter, in which she thought that he and all other also save herself, lacked either wit or truth. Wit, if they were so dull that they could nothing perceive what the protector intended; truth, if they should procure her son to be delivered into his hands, in whom they should perceive toward the child any evil intended.

The queen with these words stood a good while in a great study. And, forasmuch her seemed the cardinal more

ready to depart than some of the remnant, and the protector himself ready at hand, so that she verily thought she could not keep him there, but that he should incontinent be taken thence; and to convey him elsewhere neither had she time to serve her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things unready; this message came on her so suddenly, nothing less looking-for than to have him fetched out of sanctuary, which she thought to be now beset in such places about that he could not be conveyed-out untaken; and partly, as she thought it might fortune her fear to be false, so well she wist it was either needless or bootless; wherefore, if she should needs go from him, she deemed it best to deliver him. And over that, of the cardinal's faith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lords neither whom she there saw; who, as she feared lest they might be deceived, so was she well assured they would not be corrupted. Then thought she, it should yet make them the more warily to look to him and the more circumspectly to see to his surety, if she with her own hands betook him to them of trust. And at the last, she took the young duke by the hand, and said unto the lords,

'My lord,' quoth she, 'and all my lords, I neither am so unwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths. Of which thing I purpose to make you such a proof, as, if either of both lacked in you, might turn both me to great sorrow, the realm to much harm, and you to great reproach. For lo here is,' quoth she, 'this gentleman, whom I doubt not but I could here keep safe

if I would, whatsoever any man say. And I doubt not also but there be some abroad so deadly enemies unto my blood, that if they wist where any of it lay in their own body, they would let it out. We have also had experience, that the desire of a kingdom knoweth no kindred. The brother hath been the brother's bane; and may the nephews be sure of their uncle? Each of these children is other's defence while they be asunder, and each of their lives lieth in the other's body. Keep one safe, and both be sure; and nothing for them both more perilous, than to be both in one place. For what wise merchant adventureth all his good in one ship?

'All this notwithstanding, here I deliver him, and his brother in him, to keep into your hands; of whom I shall ask them both afore God and the world. Faithful ye be, that wot I well; and I know well, ye be wise. Power and strength to keep him if ye list, neither lack ye of yourselves, nor can lack help in this cause. And if ye cannot elsewhere, then may ye leave him here. But only one thing I beseech ye, for the trust that his father put in ye ever, and for the trust that I put in ye now, that as far as ye think that I fear too much, be ye well aware that ye fear not as far too little.'

And therewithal she said unto the child, *farewell my own sweet son, God send you good keeping, let me kiss you once yet ere you go, for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again.* And therewith she kissed him and blessed him,

turned her back and wept and went her way, leaving the child weeping as fast.

When the lord cardinal, and these other lords with him, had received this young duke, they brought him into the star-chamber, where the protector took him into his arms and kissed him with these words, *now welcome my lord ever with all my very heart;* and he said in that, of likelihood, as he thought. Thereupon forthwith they brought him to the king, his brother, into the bishop's palace, at Paul's; and from thence through the city honourably into the Tower, out of which after that day they never came abroad.

When the protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himself more boldly, both to certain other men, and also chiefly to the duke of Buckingham. Although I know that many thought that this duke was privy to all the protector's counsel even from the beginning; and some of the protector's friends said, that the duke was the first mover of the protector to this matter, sending a privy messenger to him straight after King Edward's death; but others again, who knew better the subtle wit of the protector, deny that he ever opened his enterprise to the duke, until he had brought to pass the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the queen's kinsfolks, and gotten both her sons into his own hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with less fear, to them whom he thought meet for the matter, and specially to the duke, who being

won to his purpose, he thought his strength more than half increased.

The matter was broken unto the duke by subtle folks, and such as were their craft-masters in the handling of such wicked devices. Who declared unto him, that the young king was offended with him for his kinsfolks' sakes, and that if he were ever able he would revenge them. Who would prick him forward thereunto if they escaped, for they would remember their imprisonment; or else if they were put to death, without doubt the young king would be careful for their deaths whose imprisonment was grievous unto him. And that with repenting the duke should nothing avail. For there was no way left to redeem his offence by benefits, but he should sooner destroy himself than save the king; who, with his brother and his kinsfolks, he saw in such places imprisoned, as the protector might with a beck destroy them all; and that it were no doubt but he would do it indeed, if there were any new enterprise attempted. And that it was likely, that as the protector had provided privy guard for himself, so had he spials for the duke and trains to catch him, if he should be against him; and that peradventure from them whom he least suspected. For the state of things and the dispositions of men were then such, that a man could not well tell whom he might trust or whom he might fear.

These things and such like being beaten into the duke's mind, brought him to that point, that where he had repent-

ed the way that he had entered, yet would he go forth in the same; and since he had once begun, he would stoutly go through. And therefore to this wicked enterprise, which he believed could not be avoided, he bent himself and went through; and determined, that since the common mischief could not be amended, he would turn it as much as he might to his own commodity.

Then it was agreed, that the protector should have the duke's aid to make him king; and that the protector's only lawful son should marry the duke's daughter; and that the protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldom of Hertford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could never obtain it in King Edward's time. Beside these requests of the duke, the protector, of his own mind, promised him a great quantity of the king's treasure and of his household stuff.

And when they were thus at a point between themselves, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the young king, as they would have it seem. And that they might turn both the eyes and minds of men from perceiving of their drifts otherwhere, the lords, being sent for from all parts of the realm, came thick to that solemnity. But the protector and the duke, after that they had set the lord cardinal, the archbishop of York, then lord-chancellor, the bishop of Ely, the Lord Stanley, and the Lord Hastings, then lord-chamberlain, with many other noblemen, to commune and devise about the coronation in one place, as fast

were they in another place contriving the contrary, and to make the protector king.

To which counsel albeit there were adhibit very few, and they very secret, yet began there, here and there about, some manner of muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither wist what they feared nor wherefore; were it that, before such great things men's hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgive them, as the sea without wind swelleth of itself sometime before a tempest; or were it that, some one man haply somewhat perceiving, filled many men with suspicion, though he shewed few men what he knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing itself made men to muse on the matter, though the council were close. For, by little and little, all folk withdrew from the Tower, and drew to Crosbie's-place in Bishopsgate-street, where the protector kept his household. The protector had the resort, the king in a manner desolate. While some for their business made suit to them who had the doing, some were by their friends secretly warned, that it might haply turn them to no good, to be too much attendant about the king, without the protector's appointment. Who removed also divers of the prince's old servants from him, and set new about him.

Thus many things coming together, partly by chance, partly of purpose, caused at length, not common people only, who wave with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords eke, to mark the matter and muse thereon. So far

forth that the Lord Stanley, who was afterward earl of Derby, wisely mistrusted it, and said unto the Lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two several councils. 'For while we,' quoth he, 'talk of one matter in the one place, little wot we whereof they talk in the other place.'

'My lord,' quoth the Lord Hastings, 'on my life never doubt you. For, while one man is there, who is never thence, never can there be thing once minded that should sound amiss toward me, but it should be in my ears ere it were well out of their mouths.'

This meant he by Catesby, who was of his near secret counsels, and whom he very familiarly used, and in his most weighty matters put no man in so special trust, reckoning himself to no man so lief. Since he well wist, there was no man to him so much beholden as was this Catesby; who was a man well learned in the laws of this land, and, by the special favour of the lord-chamberlain, in good authority, and much rule bare in all the county of Leicester, where the lord-chamberlain's power chiefly lay. But surely great pity was it, that he had not had either more truth or less wit; for his dissimulation only kept all that mischief up. In whom, if the Lord Hastings had not put so special trust, the Lord Stanley and he had departed with divers other lords, and broken all the dance, for many ill signs that he saw, which he now construes all to the best; so surely thought he that there could be none harm toward him in that council intended, where Catesby was.

And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made very good semblance unto the Lord Hastings, and kept him much in company. And undoubtedly the protector loved him well, and loath was to have lost him, saving for fear lest his life should have quailed their purpose. For which cause he moved Catesby to prove, with some words cast-out a far off, whether he could think it possible to win the Lord Hastings into their party. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported unto them, that he found him so fast, and heard him speak so terrible words, that he durst no farther break. And of truth the lord-chamberlain, of very trust, shewed unto Catesby the mistrust that others began to have in the matter. And therefore, he fearing lest their motions might with the Lord Hastings minish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leaned, procured the protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death, to obtain much of the rule which the Lord Hastings bare in his country; the only desire whereof, was the elective which induced him to be partner and one special contriver of all this horrible treason.

Whereupon soon after, that is, to-wit, on the Friday the —— day of ——— many lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in council, devising the honourable solemnity of the king's coronation, of which the time appointed then so near approached, that the pageants and subtelties were in making day and night at Westminster, and much victual killed therefore that afterward was cast away. These lords

so sitting together, communing of this matter, the protector came in among them, first about nine of the clock, saluting them courteously, and excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying merrily that he had been asleep that day. And after a little talking with them, he said unto the bishop of Ely, *my lord you have very good strawberries at your garden in Holborn, I require you let us have a mess of them. Gladly my lord*, quoth he, *would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that;* and therewith in all haste he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries.

The protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence. And soon after one hour, between 10 and 11, he returned into the chamber among them, all changed, with a wonderful sour, angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and frothing and gnawing on his lips; and so sat him down in his place, all the lords much dismayed and sore marvelling of this manner of sudden change, and what thing should him ail.

Then, when he had sitten still a while, thus he began; what were they worthy to have, that compass and imagine the destruction of me, being so near of blood unto the king, and protector of his royal person and his realm? At this question all the lords sat sore astonished, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which every man wist himself clear. Then the lord-chamberlain, as he

who for the love between them thought he might be boldest with him, answered, and said that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors whoever they were. And all the others affirmed the same. *That is* (quoth he) *yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and another with her*, meaning the queen.

At these words, many of the other lords were greatly abashed who favoured her. But the Lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moved by her, than by any other whom he loved better. Albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not before made of counsel in this matter, as he was of the taking of her kindred and of their putting to death; who were, by his assent before, devised to be beheaded at Pomfret this self same day, on which he was not aware that it was by others devised, that himself should the same day be beheaded at London.

Then said the protector, *ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body.* And therewith he plucked-up his doublet-sleeve to his elbow, upon his left arm, where he shewed a werish withered arm and small, as it was never other. And thereupon every man's mind sore misgave him, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel. For well they wist, that the queen was too wise to go about any such folly. And also, if she would, yet would she, of all folk, least make Shore's wife of counsel, whom of all women she

most hated, as that concubine whom the king her husband had most loved. And also no man was there present but well knew, that his arm was ever such since his birth.

Nevertheless the lord-chamberlain (who from the death of King Edward kept Shore's wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the king's life, saving, as it is said, he that while forbare her of reverence toward his king, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend), answered, and said, *certainly my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment.*

What, quoth the protector, *thou servest me I ween with ifs and with ands; I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor.* And therewith, as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board a great rap; at which token given, one cried *treason* without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in came there rushing, men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the Lord Hastings, *I arrest thee traitor. What me my lord?* quoth he. *Yea thee traitor*, quoth the protector. And another let fly at the Lord Stanley, who shrunk at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for, as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears.

Then were they all quickly bestowed in divers chambers; except the lord-chamberlain, whom the protector bad speed and shrive him apace, *for by St. Paul*, quoth he, *I will not*

to dinner till I see thy head off. It booted him not to ask *why;* but heavily he took a priest at adventure, and made a short shrift; for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much haste to dinner, which he might not go to till this were done, for saving of his oath. So was he brought-forth into the green, beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down upon a long log of timber, and there striken off; and afterward his body with the head interred at Windsor, beside the body of King Edward; whose both souls our Lord pardon!

A marvellous case is it to hear, either the warnings of that he should have avoided, or the tokens of that he could not avoid. For the self night next before his death, the Lord Stanley sent a trusty secret messenger unto him at midnight in all haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer to abide; he had so fearful a dream, in which him thought, that a boar with his tusks so razed them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the protector gave the boar for his cognizance, this dream made so fearful an impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarry; but had his horse ready, if the Lord Hastings would go with him, to ride so far yet that same night, that they should be out of danger ere day.

'Ey good lord,' quoth the Lord Hastings to this messenger, 'leaneth my lord thy master so much to such trifles,

and hath such faith in dreams, which either his own fear fantasieth, or do rise in the night's rest by reason of his day thoughts. Tell him it is plain witchcraft to believe in such dreams. Which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not, that we might be as likely to make them true by our going, if we were caught and brought back (as friends fail fliers), for then had the boar a cause likely to raze us with his tusks, as folk who fled for some falsehood? Wherefore either is there no peril, nor none there is indeed; or if any be, it is rather in going than abiding. And if we should needs-cost fall in peril one way or other, yet had I lever, that men should see it were by other men's falsehood, than think it were either our own fault or faint heart. And therefore go to thy master, man, and commend me to him, and pray him be merry and have no fear; for I insure him, I am as sure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of my own hand.'

God send grace, sir, quoth the messenger, and went his way.

Certain is it also, that in the riding toward the Tower, the same morning on which he was beheaded, his horse twice or thrice stumbled with him almost to the falling. Which thing, albeit each man wot well daily happeneth to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it been, of an old rite and custom, observed as a token, oftentimes notably foregoing some great misfortune.

Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enemous scorn. The same morning, ere he were up, came a knight unto him, as it were of courtesy to accompany him to the council, but of truth sent by the protector to haste him thitherward, with whom he was of secret confederacy in that purpose; a mean man at that time, and now of great authority. This knight, when it happened the lord-chamberlain by the way, to stay his horse and commune a while with a priest, whom he met in the Tower-street, brake his tale and said merrily to him, *what my lord, I pray you come-on, whereto talk you so long with that priest, you have no need of a priest yet;* and therewith he laughed upon him, as though he would say, *you shall have soon.* But so little wist the other what he meant, and so little mistrusted, that he was never merrier, nor never so full of good hope in his life. Which self thing is often seen a sign of change.

But I shall rather let any thing pass me, than the vain surety of man's mind so near his death. Upon the very Tower-wharf, so near the place where his head was off so soon after, there met he with one Hastings, a pursuivant, of his own name. And on their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the lord-chamberlain had been accused unto King Edward, by the Lord Rivers, the queen's brother, in suchwise, that he was for the while (but it lasted not long) far fallen into the king's indignation, and stood in great fear of himself. And forasmuch as he

now met this pursuivant in the same place, that jeopardy so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talk with him thereof, with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place while he was therein. And therefore he said, *ah Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with an heavy heart? Yea my lord,* quoth he, *that remember I well; and, thanked be God! they gat no good, nor you none harm thereby. Thou wouldest say so,* quoth he, *if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know else as yet and more shall shortly.* That meant he by the lords of the queen's kindred, who were taken before and should that day be beheaded at Pomfret; which he well wist, but nothing aware that the axe hung over his own head. *In faith, man,* quoth he, *I was never so sorry, nor never stood in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how the world is turned; now stand mine enemies in the danger (as thou mayest hap to hear more hereafter) and I never in my life so merry, nor never in so great surety.*

O! good God, the blindness of our mortal nature! When he most feared, he was in good surety; when he reckoned himself surest, he lost his life, and that within two hours after. Thus ended this honourable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authority with his prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plain and open to his enemy, and secret to his friend; easy to beguile, as he who of good heart and courage forestudied no perils. A loving man and passing well beloved; very faithful and trusty enough; trusting too much.

Now flew the fame of this lord's death swiftly through the city, and so forth farther about, like a wind in every man's ear. But the protector, immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour upon the matter, sent in all haste for many substantial men out of the city into the Tower. And at their coming, himself with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill-faring briganders, such as no man should ween that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backs, except that some sudden necessity had constrained them. And then the protector shewed them, that the lord-chamberlain, and others of his conspiracy, had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the duke, there, that same day, in the council. And what they intended farther was as yet not well known. Of which their treason he never had knowledge before ten of the clock the same forenoon; which sudden fear, drave them to put-on, for their defence, such harness as came next to hand; and so had God holpen them, that the mischief turned upon them who would have done it. And this he required them to report.

Every man answered him fair, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man believed. Yet for the farther appeasing of the people's mind, he sent immediately after dinner in all haste, one herald of arms, with a proclamation, to be made through the city in the king's name, containing, that the Lord Hastings, with divers others of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired, that same day to have slain the lord protector and the duke of Buck-

ingham, sitting in the council; and after, to have taken upon them to rule the king and the realm at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoil whom they list uncontrouled.

And much matter was there in the proclamation devised, to the slander of the lord-chamberlain. As, that he was an evil counsellor to the king's father, enticing him to many things highly redounding to the minishing of his honour, and to the universal hurt of his realm, by his evil company, sinister procuring and ungracious example; as well in many other things, as in the vicious living and inordinate abuse of his body, both with many others, and also specially with Shore's wife, who was one also of his most secret counsel of this heinous treason, with whom he lay nightly, and namely the night last past, next before his death. So that it was the less marvel, if ungracious living brought him to an unhappy ending. Which he was now put unto, by the most dread commandment of the king's highness and of his honourable and faithful council; both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his falsely-conceived treason; and also, lest the delaying of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracy, to gather and assemble themselves together in making some great commotion for his deliverance. Whose hope now being by his well deserved death politicly repressed, all the realm should, by God's grace rest in good quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two hours after

that he was beheaded. And it was so curiously indited, and so fair written on parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of itself so long a process, that every child might well perceive that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death and the proclaiming, could scant have sufficed unto the bare writing alone, all had it been but on paper and scribbled-forth in haste at adventure. So that upon the proclaiming thereof, one who was schoolmaster of Pauls, of chance standing by and comparing the shortness of the time with the length of the matter, said unto them who stood about him, *here is a gay goodly cast, foul cast away for haste.* And a merchant answered him, that it was written by prophecy.

Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for courtesy, the protector sent unto the house of Shore's wife (for her husband dwelled not with her) and spoiled her of all that ever she had above the value of two or three marks, and sent her body to prison. And when he had awhile laid unto her, for the manner sake, that she went about to bewitch him, and that she was of counsel with the lord-chamberlain to destroy him, in conclusion, when that no colour could fasten upon these matters, then he laid heinously to her charge, the thing that herself could not deny, that all the world wist was true, and that nevertheless every man laughed-at to hear it then so suddenly so highly taken, *that she was nought of her body.*

And for this cause, as a goodly continent prince, clean

and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men's manners, he caused the bishop of London to put her to open penance, going before the cross in procession upon a Sunday, with a taper in her hand. In which she went in countenance and pace demure so womanly, and albeit she were out of all array save her kirtle only, yet went she so fair and lovely, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comely rud in her cheeks (of which she before had most miss), that her great shame wan her much praise, among those who were more amorous of her body than curious of her soul. And many good folk also, who hated her living, and glad were to see sin corrected, yet pitied they more her penance than rejoiced therein, when they considered, that the protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent than any virtuous affection.

This woman was born in London, worshipfully friended, honestly brought-up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon; her husband an honest citizen, young and goodly and of good substance. But, forasmuch as they were coupled ere she was well ripe, she not very fervently loved for whom she never longed. Which was haply the thing that the more easily made her incline unto the king's appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of his royalty, the hope of gay apparel, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth, were able soon to pierce a soft tender heart. But when the king had abused her, anon her husband, as he was an honest man, and one who could his

good, not presuming to touch a king's concubine, left her up to him all together. When the king died, the lord-chamberlain took her; who, in the king's days, albeit he was sore enamoured upon her, yet he forbare her, either for reverence or for a certain friendly faithfulness.

Proper she was and fair; nothing in her body that you would have changed, but if you would have wished her somewhat higher. Thus say they who knew her in her youth; albeit some who now see her (for yet she liveth) deem her never to have been well visaged. Whose judgment seemeth me somewhat like, as though men should guess the beauty of one long before departed, by her scalp taken out of the charnel house. For now is she old, lean, withered, and dried up, nothing left but shrivelled skin and hard bone. And yet, being even such, whoso well advise her visage, might guess and devise, which parts, how filled, would make it a fair face.

Yet delighted not men so much in her beauty, as in her pleasant behaviour. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write; merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometimes taunting without displeasure and not without disport. The king would say that he had three concubines, who, in three divers properties, diversly excelled. One the merriest, another the wiliest, the third the holiest harlot in his realm, as one whom no man could get out of the church lightly to any place, but it were to his bed. The other two

were somewhat greater personages, and nevertheless, of their humility, content to be nameless, and to forbear the praise of those properties. But the merriest, was this Shore's wife, in whom the king therefore took special pleasure, for many he had, but her he loved.

Whose favour, to say the truth, (for sin it were to belie the devil) she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief. Where the king took displeasure, she would mitigate, and appease his mind. Where men were out of favour, she would bring them in his grace. For many who had highly offended, she obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men remission. And finally, in many weighty suits, she stood many men in great stead, either for none or very small rewards, and those rather gay than rich; either for that she was content with the deed itself well done, or for that she delighted to be sued unto and to shew what she was able to do with the king, or for that wanton women and wealthy be not alway covetous.

I doubt not, some shall think this woman too slight a thing, to be written of and set among the remembrances of great matters. Which they shall specially think, who haply shall esteem her only by that they now see her. But meseemeth the chance so much the more worthy to be remembered, in how much she is now in the more beggarly condition, unfriended and worn-out of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great favour with the prince, after as great suit and seeking-to with all those who those days

had business to speed, as many other men were in their times, who be now famous only by the infamy of their ill-deeds. Her doings were not much less, albeit they be much less remembered, because they were not so evil. For men use, if they have an evil turn, to write it in marble; and whoso doth us a good turn, we write it in dust. Which is not worst proved by her; for at this day she beggeth of many at this day living, who at this day had begged if she had not been.

Now was it so devised by the protector and his council, that the self day on which the lord-chamberlain was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the self-same hour, was there, not without his assent, beheaded at Pomfret, the fore-remembered lords and knights, who were taken from the king at Northampton and Stony Stratford. Which thing was done in the presence and by the order of Sir Richard Ratclif, knight, whose service the protector specially used in the counsel and in the execution of such lawless enterprises; as a man who had been long secret with him, having experience of the world and a shrewd wit, short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behaviour, bold in mischief, as far from pity as from all fear of God. This knight, bringing them out of the prison to the scaffold, and shewing to the people about, that they were traitors, not suffering them to speak and declare their innocence, lest their words might have inclined men to pity them and to hate the protector and his party, caused them hastily, without judgment, process, or manner of order, to be behead-

ed; and without other earthly guilt, but only that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the queen.

Now when the lord-chamberlain and these other lords and knights were thus beheaded and rid out of the way, then thought the protector, that while men mused what the matter meant, while the lords of the realm were about him out of their own strength, while no man wist what to think nor whom to trust, ere ever they should have space to dispute and digest the matter and make parties, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himself in possession of the crown ere men could have time to devise any ways to resist. But now was all the study, by what mean this matter, being of itself so heinous, might be first broken to the people in suchwise, that it might be well taken. To this counsel they took divers, such as they thought meetly to be trusted, likely to be induced to the party, and able to stand them in stead either by power or policy.

Among whom, they made of counsel Edmund Shaw, knight, then mayor of London, who, upon trust of his own advancement, whereof he was, of a proud heart, highly desirous, should frame the city to their appetite. Of spiritual men, they took such as had wit, and were in authority among the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they John Shaw, clerk, brother to the mayor, and Friar Penker, provincial of the Augustin friars; both doctors of divinity, both great

preachers, both of more learning than virtue, of more fame than learning; for they were before greatly esteemed among the people, but after that never.

Of these two, the one had a sermon in praise of the protector, before the coronation, the other after; both so full of tedious flattery, that no man's ears could abide them. Penker, in his sermon, so lost his voice, that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst. Doctor Shaw, by his sermon, lost his honesty, and soon after his life; for very shame of the world, into which he durst never after come abroad. But the friar feared for no shame, and so it harmed him the less. Howbeit some doubt and many think, that Penker was not of counsel of the matter before the coronation, but, after the common manner, fell to flattery after; namely, since his sermon was not incontinent upon it, but at S^t^. Mary hospital, at the Easter after. But certain is it that Dr. Shaw was of counsel in the beginning; so far forth, that they determined that he should first break the matter in a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he should, by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the protector's ghostly purpose.

But now was all the labour and study, in the device of some convenient pretext, for which the people should be content to depose the prince and accept the protector for king. In which, divers things they devised; but the chief thing, and the weighty of all that invention, rested in this, that they should allege bastardy, either in King Edward

himself, or in his children, or both; so that he should seem disabled to inherit the crown by the duke of York, and the prince by him. To lay bastardy on King Edward, sounded openly to the rebuke of the protector's own mother, who was mother to them both; for in that point could be none other colour, but to pretend that his own mother was an adultress, which notwithstanding, to farther this purpose he letted not. But nevertheless he would that point should be less and more favourably handled; not even fully plain and directly, but that the matter should be touched aslope craftily, as though men spared in that point to speak all the truth, for fear of his displeasure. But the other point, concerning the bastardy that they devised to surmise in King Edward's children, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceived, but if we first repeat you some things long before done about King Edward's marriage.

After that King Edward IV had deposed King Henry VI, and was in peaceable possession of the realm, determining himself to marry, as it was requisite both for himself and for the realm, he sent over in embassy the earl of Warwick, with other noblemen in his company, unto Spain, to entreat and conclude a marriage between King Edward and the king's daughter of Spain. In which thing the earl of Warwick found the parties so toward and willing, that he speedily, according to his instructions, without any difficulty, brought the matter to very good conclusion.

Now happened it, that in the mean season, there came to make a suit by petition to the king, Dame Elizabeth Gray, who was afterward his queen, at that time a widow, born of noble blood, specially by her mother, who was duchess of Bedford ere she married the Lord Wodefeld her father. Howbeit this Dame Elizabeth herself being in service with Queen Margaret, wife unto King Henry VI, was married unto one —— Gray, a squire, whom King Henry made knight upon the field that he had on —— at ——— against King Edward; and little while enjoyed he that knighthood, for he was at that same field slain. After which done, and the earl of Warwick being on his embassy about the afore-remembered marriage, this poor lady made humble suit unto the king, that she might be restored unto such small lands as her late husband had given her in jointure.

Whom when the king beheld and heard her speak, as she was both fair, of a good favour, moderate of stature, well made, and very wise, he not only pitied her but also waxed enamoured of her; and taking her afterward secretly aside, began to enter in talking more familiarly. Whose appetite when she perceived, she virtuously denied him; but that did she so wisely, and with so good manner and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finally, after many a meeting, much wooing and many great promises, she well espied the king's affection toward her so greatly increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldly say her mind, as to him whose heart she perceived more firmly set than to fall-off for a

word. And in conclusion she shewed him plainly, that as she wist herself too simple to be his wife, so thought she herself too good to be his concubine.

The king much marvelling of her constancy, as he who had not been wont elsewhere to be so stifly said *nay*, so much esteemed her continence and chastity, that he set her virtue in the stead of possession and riches; and thus taking counsel of his desire, determined in all possible haste to marry her. And after he was thus appointed, and had between them twain insured her, then asked he counsel of his other friends, and that in such manner, as they might easy perceive it booted not greatly to say *nay*.

Notwithstanding, the duchess of York, his mother, was so sore moved therewith, that she dissuaded the marriage as much as she possibly might; alleging, that it was his honour, profit, and surety also, to marry in a noble progeny out of his realm; whereupon depended great strength to his estate, by the affinity and great possibility of increase of his possessions. And that he could not well otherwise do, standing that the earl of Warwick had so far moved already, who was not likely to take it well, if all his voyage was in suchwise frustrate and his appointments deluded. And she said also, that it was not princely to marry his own subject, no great occasion leading thereunto, no possessions or other commodities depending thereupon; but only as it were a rich man who would marry his maid, only for a little wanton dotage upon her person; in which

marriage, many more commend the maiden's fortune than the master's wisdom. And yet there she said was more honesty than honour in this marriage; forasmuch as there is between no merchant and his own maid, so great difference as between the king and this widow. In whose person albeit there was nothing to be misliked, yet was there she said nothing so excellent but that it might be found in divers others, *who were more meetly* (quoth she) *for your estate, and maids also; whereas the only widowhood of Elizabeth Gray, though she were in all other things convenient for you, should yet suffice as meseemeth to refrain you from her marriage. Since it is an unfitting thing, and a very blemish and high disparagement to the sacred majesty of a prince, who ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness as he doth in dignity, to be befouled with bigamy in his first marriage.*

The king, when his mother had said, made her answer part in earnest, part in play merely, as he who wist himself out of her rule; and albeit he would gladly that she should take it well, yet was at a point in his own mind took she it well or otherwise. Howbeit somewhat to satisfy her, he said, that albeit marriage, being a spiritual thing, ought rather to be made for the respect of God where his grace inclineth the parties to love together (as he trusted it was in his) than for the regard of any temporal advantage, yet nevertheless him seemed that this marriage, even worldly considered, was not unprofitable. For he reckoned the amity of no earthly nation so necessary for him, as the friendship

of his own; which he thought likely to bear him so much the more hearty favour, in that he disdained not to marry with one of his own land. And yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite, he would find the means to enter thereinto much better by others of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marry himself whom he should haply never love, and, for the possibility of more possessions, lose the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that ever he hath beside, if he be wived against his appetite.

'And I doubt not,' quoth he, 'but there be, as you say, others who be in every point comparable with her; and therefore I let not them who like them to wed them. No more is it reason that it mislike any man that I marry where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousin of Warwick neither loveth me so little to grudge at that I love, nor is so unreasonable to look that I should in choice of a wife rather be ruled by his eye than by mine own; as though I were a ward who were bound to marry by the appointment of a guardian. I would not be a king with that condition, to forbear mine own liberty in choice of my own marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in strange lands, it is often the occasion of more trouble than profit; and we have already title by that means to so much, as sufficeth to get and keep well in one man's days. That she is a widow and hath already children—by God's blessed lady I am a batchelor and have some too! And so each of us hath a proof that neither of us is like to

be barren. And therefore madam I pray you be content. I trust in God she shall bring-forth a young prince who shall please you. And as for the bigamy—let the bishop hardly lay it in my way when I come to take orders; for I understand it is forbidden a priest, but I never wist it yet that it was forbidden a prince.'

The duchess with these words nothing appeased, and seeing the king so set thereon that she could not pull him back, so highly she disdained it, that, under pretext of her duty to Godward, she devised to disturb this marriage; and rather to help that he should marry one Dame Elizabeth Lucy, whom the king had also not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the king's mother objected openly against his marriage, as it were in discharge of her conscience, that the king was sure to Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and her husband before God. By reason of which words, such obstacle was made in the matter, that either the bishops durst not, or the king would not, proceed to the solemnization of this wedding, till these same were clearly purged and the truth well and openly testified.

Whereupon Dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for; and albeit that she was by the king's mother and many others put in good comfort, to affirm that she was ensured unto the king, yet when she was solemnly sworn to say the truth, she confessed that they were never ensured. Howbeit she said his grace spake so loving words unto her, that she verily hoped he would have married her; and that if it had

not been for such kind words, she would never have shewed such kindness to him to let him so kindly get her with child. This examination solemnly taken, when it was clearly perceived that there was none impediment, the king with great feast and honourable solemnity married Dame Elizabeth Gray, and her crowned queen who was his enemy's wife, and many times had prayed full heartily for his loss; in which God loved her better than to grant her her boon.

But when the earl of Warwick understood of this marriage, he took it so highly that his embassy was deluded, that for very anger and disdain, he, at his return, assembled a great puissance against the king, and came so fast upon him ere he could be able to resist, that he was fain to void the realm and fly into Holland for succour: where he remained for the space of two years, leaving his new wife in Westminster in sanctuary, where she was delivered of Edward the prince, of whom we before have spoken. In which meantime, the earl of Warwick took out of prison and set-up again King Henry VI, who was before by King Edward deposed, and that muchwhat by the power of the earl of Warwick: who was a wise man and a courageous warrior, and of such strength what for his lands, his alliance, and favour with all the people, that he made kings and put down kings almost at his pleasure; and not impossible to have attained it himself, if he had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king than to be a king.

But nothing lasteth alway. For in conclusion, King Ed-

ward returned, and with much less number than he had, at Barnet, on the Easterday field, slew the earl of Warwick, with many other great estates of that party; and so stably attained the crown again, that he peaceably enjoyed it unto his dying day; and in such plight left it, that it could not be lost but by the discord of his very friends, or falsehood of his feigned friends.

I have rehearsed this business about this marriage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appear, upon how slippery a ground the protector builded his colour, by which he pretended King Edward's children to be bastards. But that invention, simple as it was, it liked them to whom it sufficed to have somewhat to say, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proof than themselves list to make.

Now then, as I began to shew you, it was by the protector and his council concluded, that this Dr. Shaw should, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, signify to the people, that neither King Edward himself, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfully begotten; nor were not the very children of the duke of York, but gotten unlawfully by other persons, by the adultery of the duchess their mother. And that also Dame Elizabeth Lucy was verily the wife of King Edward, and so the prince and all his children bastards, who were gotten upon the queen.

According to this device, Dr. Shaw, the Sunday after, at

Paul's cross, in a great audience (as alway assembled great numbers to his preaching) took for his theme *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas;* that is to say, *bastard slips shall never take deep root.* Thereupon when he had shewn the great grace that God giveth and secretly infoundeth in right generation after the laws of matrimony, then declared he that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents were for the more part unhappy, which were gotten in haste and specially in adultery. Of which, though some, by the ignorance of the world, and the truth hid from knowledge, inherited for the season other men's lands; yet God alway so provideth, that it continueth not in their blood long, but the truth coming to light, the rightful inheritors be restored, and the bastard slip pulled-up ere it can be rooted deep.

And when he had laid for the proof and confirmation of this sentence certain examples taken out of the Old Testament and other ancient histories, then began he to descend into the praise of the Lord Richard late duke of York, calling him father to the lord protector, and declared the title of his heirs unto the crown, to whom it was, after the death of King Henry VI, entailed by authority of parliament. Then shewed he that his very right heir of his body, lawfully begotten, was only the lord protector; for he declared then, that King Edward was never lawfully married unto the queen, but was before God husband unto Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children bastards. And beside that, neither King Edward himself nor the duke of Clarence,

among those who were secret in the household, were reckoned very surely for the children of the noble duke, as those who by their favours more resembled other known men than him; from whose virtuous conditions, he said also that King Edward was far off. But the lord-protector, he said, that very noble prince, that special pattern of knightly prowess, as well in all princely behaviour as in the lineaments and favour of his visage, represented the very face of the noble duke his father. *This is*, quoth he, *the father's own figure, this is his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plain express likeness, of that noble duke.*

Now was it before devised, that in the speaking of these words, the protector should have come-in among the people to the sermon ward. To the end that, those words meeting with his presence, might have been taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the preacher's mouth; and should have moved the people even there, to cry *King Richard! King Richard!* that it might have been after said, that he was specially chosen by God and in manner by miracle. But this device quailed, either by the protector's negligence, or the preacher's over-much diligence. For while the protector found by the way tarrying, lest he should prevent those words; and the doctor, fearing that he should come ere his sermon could come to those words, hasted his matter thereto; he was come to them and past them, and entered into other matters ere the protector came.

Whom when he beheld coming, he suddenly left the matter with which he was in hand, and without any deduction thereunto, out of all order and out of all frame, began to repeat those words again,—*this is that very noble prince, that special pattern of knightly prowess; who, as well in all princely behaviour, as in the lineaments and favour of his visage, representeth the very face of the noble duke of York, his father. This is that father's own figure, this his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plain express likeness of the noble duke, whose remembrance can never die while he liveth.*

While these words were in speaking, the protector, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonly stand in the upper story; where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so far from crying *King Richard!* that they stood as they had been turned into stones for wonder of this shameful sermon. After which once ended, the preacher gat him home and never after durst look out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owl. And when he once asked one who had been his old friend, what the people talked of him; all were it that his own conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in every man's mouth spoken of him much shame, it so struck him to the heart, that within few days after he withered and consumed away.

Then, on the Tuesday following this sermon, there came unto the Guildhall in London, the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with divers lords and knights, more than haply knew the message that they brought. And there, in the east end of the hall, where the mayor keepeth the hustings, the mayor and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the city gathered before them, after silence commanded upon great pain in the protector's name, the duke stood up; and, as he was neither unlearned, and of nature marvellously well spoken, he said unto the people with a clear and a loud voice in this manner of wise.

'Friends! For the zeal and hearty favour that we bear you, we be come to break unto you of a matter right great and weighty; and no less weighty, than pleasing to God and profitable to all the realm; nor to no part of the realm more profitable, than to you the citizens of this noble city. For why? That thing that we wot well ye have long time lacked and sore longed for, that ye would have given great good for, that ye would have gone far to fetch, that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labour, pain, cost, adventure, or jeopardy. What thing is that? Certes the surety of your own bodies, the quiet of your wives and your daughters, the safeguard of your goods. Of all which things, in times past ye stood evermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, who would reckon himself lord of his own good, among so many grenades and traps as were set therefore; among so much pilling and polling; among so

many taxes and tallages, of which there was never end, and oftentime no need; or if any were, it rather grew of riot and unreasonable waste, than any necessary or honourable charge.

'So that there was daily pilled from good men and honest, great substance of goods to be lavished out among unthrifts. So far forth, that fifteenths sufficed not, nor any usual names of known taxes; but, under an easy name of benevolence and goodwill, the commissioners so much of every man took, as no man would with his goodwill have given. As though the name of benevolence had signified, that every man should pay not what himself of his good will list to grant, but what the king of his good will list to take. Who never asked little; but every thing was hanced above the measure,—amercements turned into fines, fines into ransoms, small trespass to misprision, misprision into treason. Whereof I think no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name. As though Burdet were forgotten, who was, for a word spoken in haste, cruelly beheaded, by the misconstruing of the laws of this realm for the prince's pleasure; with no less honour to Markham then chief justice (who left his office rather than he would assent to that judgment), than to the dishonesty of those who, either for fear or flattery, gave that judgment. What Coke, your own worshipful neighbour, alderman and mayor of this noble city,—who is of you either so negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetful that he remembereth not, or so hard hearted that he pitieth not, that worshipful man's

loss? What speak we of loss!—his utter spoil and undeserved destruction, only for that it happened those to favour him whom the prince favoured not.

'We need not I suppose to rehearse of these any more by name. Since there be I doubt not many here present, who, either in themselves or their nigh friends, have known as well their goods as their persons greatly endangered, either by feigned quarrels, or small matters aggreived with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lack a pretext. For since the king, preventing the time of his inheritance, attained the crown by battle, it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to have been of kindred or alliance, near familiarity or lieger acquaintance, with any of those who were at any time the king's enemies; which was, at one time and other, more than half the realm.

'Thus were neither your goods in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in jeopardy, beside the common adventure of open war. Which albeit that it is ever the will and occasion of much mischief, yet is it never so mischievous, as where any people fall at distance among themselves; nor in none earthly nation so deadly and so pestilent, as when it happeneth among us; and among us never so long-continued dissention, nor so many battles in the season, nor so cruel and so deadly fought, as was in the king's days who dead is, God forgive it his soul! In whose time and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the

garland, keeping it, losing and winning again, it hath cost more English blood than hath twice the winning of France. In which inward war among ourselves, hath been so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this realm, that scarcely the half remaineth, to the great enfeebling of this noble land; beside many a good town ransacked and spoiled, by them who have been going to the field or coming from thence. And peace, long after, not much surer than war.

'So that no time was there, in which rich men for their money and great men for their lands, or some others for some fear or some displeasure, were out of peril. For whom trusted he who mistrusted his own brother? whom spared he who killed his own brother? or who could perfectly love him, if his own brother could not? What manner of folk he most favoured, we shall for his honour spare to speak of. Howbeit this wot ye well all, that whoso was best, bare alway least rule. And more suit was in his days unto Shore's wife, a vile and an abominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England, except unto those who made her their proctor. Which simple woman was well named and honest, till the king, for his wanton lust and sinful affection, bereft her from her husband, a right honest substantial young man among you. And in that point (which in good faith I am sorry to speak of, saving that it is in vain to keep in counsel that thing which all men know), the king's greedy appetite was insatiable, and everywhere over all the realm intolerable. For no woman was there

anywhere, young or old, rich or poor, whom he set his eye upon, in whom he any thing liked, either person or favour, speech, pace or countenance, but, without any fear of God or respect of his honour, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importunely pursue his appetite and have her; to the great destruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to her husband and her other friends; who, being honest people of themselves, so much regard the cleanness of their house, the chastity of their wives and their children, that them were lever to lose all that they have beside, than to have such a villany done them.

'And all were it that with this and other importable dealing the realm was in every part annoyed, yet specially ye here, the citizens of this noble city. As well for that among you is most plenty of all such things as minister matter to such injuries, as for that ye were nearest at hand; since that near here about was commonly his most abiding. And yet be ye the people whom he had as singular cause well and kindly to entreat, as any part of his realm. Not only for that the prince by this noble city, as his special chamber and the special well-renowned city of his realm, much honourable fame receiveth among all other nations; but also for that ye, not without your great cost and sundry perils and jeopardies, in all his wars bare ever your special favour to his part. Which your kind minds borne to the house of York since he hath nothing worthily acquitted, there is of that house who now by God's grace better shall.

Which thing to shew ye, is the whole sum and effect of this our present errand.

'It shall not I wot well need, that I rehearse ye again that ye have already heard, of him who can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better believe it. And reason is that it so be. I am not so proud to look therefore, that ye should reckon my words of as great authority as the preacher's of the word of God; namely, a man so cunning and so wise, that no man better wotteth what he should say; and thereto so good and virtuous, that he would not say the thing which he wist he should not say, in the pulpit namely, into which none honest man cometh to lie. Which honourable preacher, ye well remember, substantially declared unto you at Paul's Cross on Sunday last past, the right and title that the most excellent prince, Richard duke of Gloucester, now protector of this realm, hath unto the crown and kingdom of the same. For, as that worshipful man groundly made open unto ye, the children of King Edward IV were never lawfully begotten. Forasmuch as the king (living his very wife, Dame Elizabeth Lucy) was never lawfully married unto the queen their mother; whose blood, saving that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was full unmetely to be matched with his; and the mingling of whose bloods together, hath been the effusion of great part of the noble blood of this realm. Whereby it may well seem that marriage not well made, of which there is so much mischief grown.

'For lack of which lawful accoupling, and also of other things —— which the said worshipful doctor rather signified than fully explained, and which things shall not be spoken of me, as the thing wherein every man forbeareth to say that he knoweth, in avoiding displeasure of my noble lord protector, bearing as nature requireth a filial reverence to the duchess his mother ———— for those causes I say before remembered; that is, to-wit, for lack of other issue lawfully coming of the late noble prince, Richard duke of York (to whose royal blood the crown of England and of France is by the high authority of parliament entailed) the right and title of the same is, by the just course of inheritance according to the common law of this land, devolute and come unto the most excellent prince the lord protector, as to the very lawfully-begotten son of the fore-remembered noble duke of York. Which thing well considered, and the great knightly prowess pondered, with manifold virtues which in his noble person singularly abound, the nobles, and commons also, of this realm, and specially of the north parts, not willing any bastard blood to have the rule of the land, nor the abuses before in the same used any longer to continue, have condescended and fully determined, to make humble petition unto the most puissant prince the lord protector, *that it may like his grace, at our humble request, to take upon him the guiding and governance of this realm, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his very right and just title.*

'Which thing, I wot it well, he will be loath to take

upon him; as he whose wisdom well perceiveth, the labour and study both of mind and of body that shall come therewith, to whomsoever so well occupy that room, as I dare say he will if he take it. Which room I warn ye well is no child's office; and *that* the great wise man well perceived when he said *veh regno cujus rex puer est, woe is that realm that hath a child to their king.* Wherefore so much the more cause have we to thank God, that this noble personage who is so righteously entitled thereunto, is of so sad age, and thereto of so great wisdom, joined with so great experience. Who, albeit, he will be loath, as I have said, to take it upon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalf the more graciously incline, if ye, the worshipful citizens of this the chief city of this realm, join with us, the nobles, in our said request. Which for your own weal we doubt not but ye will; and nevertheless I heartily pray ye so to do. Whereby ye shall do great profit to all this realm beside, in choosing them so good a king, and unto yourselves special commodity. To whom his majesty shall ever after bear so much the more tender favour, in how much he shall perceive ye the more prone and benevolently minded toward his election. Wherein, dear friends, what mind ye have, we require ye plainly to shew us.'

When the duke had said, and looked that the people, whom he hoped that the mayor had framed before, should, after this proposition made, have cried *King Richard! King Richard!* all was hushed and mute, and not one word answered thereunto. Wherewith the duke was marvellously

abashed; and taking the mayor nearer to him, with others who were about him privy to that matter, said unto them softly, *what meaneth this, that this people be so still? Sir*, (quoth the mayor) *percase they perceive you not well. That shall we mend* (quoth he) *if that will help.* And by and by, somewhat louder he rehearsed them the same matter again, in other order and other words; so well and ornately, and nevertheless so evidently and plain, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled who heard him, and thought that they never had in their lives heard so evil a tale so well told. But were it for wonder or fear, or that each looked that other should speak first, not one word was there answered of all the people who stood before, but all was as still as the midnight; not so much as rowning among them, by which they might seem to commune what was best to do.

When the mayor saw this, he, with other partners of that counsel, drew about the duke and said, that the people had not been accustomed there to be spoken unto but by the recorder, who is the mouth of the city, and haply to him they will answer. With that the recorder, called Fitzwilliam, a sad man and an honest, who was so new come into that office that he never had spoken to the people before, and loath was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding, thereunto commanded by the mayor, made rehearsal to the commons of that the duke had twice rehearsed them himself; but the recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed every thing as the duke's words, and no part his

own. But all this nothing no change made in the people, who, alway after one, stood as they had been men amazed. Whereupon the duke rowned unto the mayor and said, *this is a marvellous obstinate silence;* and therewith he turned unto the people again with these words.

'Dear friends, we come to move ye to that thing, which peradventure we not so greatly needed, but that the lords of this realm and the commons of other parts might have sufficed; saving that we such love bear ye, and so much set by ye, that we would not gladly do without ye that thing, in which to be partners is your weal and honour, which as it seemeth either ye see not or weigh not. Wherefore we require ye give us answer one or other, whether ye be minded, as all the nobles of the realm be, to have this noble prince, now protector, to be your king or not?'

At these words the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarm of bees. Till at the last, in the nether end of the hall, a bushment of the duke's servants and Nashefeld's, and others belonging to the protector, with some apprentices and lads who thrust into the hall among the press, began suddenly at men's backs to cry-out as loud as their throats would give, *King Richard! King Richard!* and threw-up their caps in token of joy; and they who stood before, cast-back their heads, marvelling thereof, but nothing they said.

And when the duke and the mayor saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose; and said, it was a goodly cry and a joyful to hear, every man with one voice, no man saying *nay*. 'Wherefore, friends,' quoth the duke, 'since that we perceive it is all your whole minds to have this noble man for your king (whereof we shall make his grace so effectual report, that we doubt not but it shall redound unto your great weal and commodity) we require ye that ye to-morrow go with us, and we with ye, unto his noble grace, to make our humble request unto him in manner before remembered. And therewith the lords came down, and the company dissolved and departed; the more part all sad; some with glad semblance who were not very merry; and some of those who came thither with the duke not able to dissemble their sorrow, were fain at his back to turn their face to the wall, while the dolour of their hearts burst-out at their eyes.

Then on the morrow after, the mayor with all the aldermen and chief commoners of the city, in their best manner apparelled, assembling themselves together, resorted unto Baynard's Castle, where the protector lay. To which place repaired also, according to their appointment, the duke of Buckingham, with divers noblemen with him, beside many knights and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke sent word unto the lord-protector, of the being there of a great and honourable company, to move a great matter unto his grace.

Whereupon the protector made difficulty to come out unto them, but if he first knew some part of their errand; as though he doubted and partly distrusted the coming of such a number unto him so suddenly, without any warning or knowledge whether they came for good or harm. Then the duke when he had shewn this unto the mayor and others, that they might thereby see how little the protector looked for this matter, they sent unto him by the messenger such loving message again, and therewith so humbly besought him to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would unto none other person any part disclose, that at the last he came forth of his chamber, and yet not down unto them; but stood above in a gallery over them, where they might see him and speak to him, as though he would not yet come too near them till he wist what they meant.

And thereupon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition unto him on the behalf of them all, that his grace would pardon them and licence them to propose unto his grace the intent of their coming, without his displeasure; without which pardon obtained, they durst not be bold to move him of that matter. In which albeit they meant as much honour to his grace as wealth to all the realm beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom they would in nowise offend.

Then the protector, as if he was very gentle of himself, and also longed sore to wit what they meant, gave him

leave to propose what him liked, verily trusting, for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them any thing would intend unto himward wherewith he ought to be grieved.

When the duke had this leave and pardon to speak, then waxed he bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moving them thereunto as ye before have heard. And finally to beseech his grace, that it would like him of his accustomed goodness and zeal unto the realm, now with his eye of pity to behold the long-continued distress and decay of the same. And to set his gracious hands to the redress and amendment thereof, by taking upon him the crown and governance of this realm, according to his right and title lawfully descended unto him; and to the laud of God, profit of the land, and unto his grace's so much the more honour and less pain, in that never prince reigned upon any people who were so glad to live under his obeisance, as the people of this realm under his.

When the protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat; and answered, that all were it that he partly knew the things by them alleged to be true, yet such entire love he bare unto King Edward and his children, that he so much more regarded his honour in other realms about than the crown of any one (of which he was never desirous) that he could not find in his heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other nations where the truth were not well known, it should per-

adventure be thought that it were his own ambitious mind and device, to depose the prince and take himself the crown; with which infamy he would not have his honour stained for any crown. In which he had ever perceived much more labour and pain than pleasure, to him whose would so use it as, he who would not, were not worthy to have it. Notwithstanding, he not only pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the love and hearty favour they bare him. Praying them, for his sake, to give and bear the same to the prince; under whom he was and would be content to live, and with his labour and counsel, as far as should like the king to use him, he would do his uttermost endeavour to set the realm in good state. Which was already in this little while of his protectorship (the praise given to God) well begun. In that the malice of such as were before occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now, partly by good policy, partly more by God's special providence than man's provision, repressed.

Upon this answer given, the duke, by the protector's licence, a little rowned, as well with other noblemen about him, as with the mayor and recorder of London. And after that, upon like pardon desired and obtained, he shewed aloud unto the protector for a final conclusion, that the realm was appointed, *King Edward's line should not any longer reign upon them;* both for that they had so far gone that it was now no surety to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weal universal to take that way, although they

had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his grace to take the crown upon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto. If he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary (which they would be loath to hear) then must they needs seek, and should not fail to find, some other nobleman who would.

These words much moved the protector; who else, as every man may wit, *would never of likelihood have inclined thereunto.* But when he saw there was none other way, but that either he must take it, or else he and his both go from it, he said unto the lords and commons;

'Since we perceive-well that all the realm is so set; whereof we be very sorry that they will not suffer in anywise King Edward's line to govern them, whom no man earthly can govern against their wills; and we well also perceive, that no man is there to whom the crown can by so just title appertain as to ourself, as very right heir, lawfully begotten, of the body of our most dear father Richard late duke of York; to which title is now joined your election, the nobles and commons of this realm, which we of all titles possible take for most effectual; we be content and agree favourably to incline to your petition and request. And according to the same, here we take upon us the royal estate, pre-eminence and kingdom of the two noble realms, England and France; the one, from this day forward by us and our heirs to rule, govern, and defend; the other, by God's grace and your good help, to get again and subdue,

and establish for ever in due obedience unto this realm of England; the advancement whereof, we never ask of God longer to live, than we intend to procure.'

With this there was a great shout, crying *King Richard! King Richard!* And then the lords went-up to the king (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diversly of the matter, every man as his fantasy gave him.

But much they talked and marvelled of the manner of this dealing; that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though neither had ever communed with other thereof before, when that themselves well wist, there was no man so dull who heard them, but he perceived well enough that all the matter was made between them. Howbeit some excused that again, and said, all must be done in good order though; and men must sometimes for the manner's sake not be known what they know. For at the consecration of a bishop, every man wotteth well by the paying for his bulls, that he purposeth to be one; and though he pay for nothing else, yet must he be twice asked whether he will be bishop or no, and he must twice say *nay*, and at the third time take it as compelled thereunto beside his own will. And in a stage play, all the people know right well that he who playeth the sovereign is percase a sutler. Yet if one should ken so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his own name while he standeth in his majesty, one

of his tormentors might hap to break his head, and worthily, for marring of the play. And so they said, that these matters be kings' games, as it were stage-plays, and for the more part played upon scaffolds; in which poor men be but the lookers-on, and they who wise be will meddle no farther. For they who sometimes step-up and play with them, when they cannot play their parts, they disorder the play and do themselves no good.

The next day, the protector, with a great train, went to Westminster-hall. And there, when he had placed himself in the court of the King's-bench, declared to the audience, that he would take upon him the crown in that place there, where the king himself sitteth and ministreth the law; because he considered that it was the chiefest duty of a king to minister the laws. Then, with as pleasant an oration as he could, he went about to win unto him, the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in conclusion, all kind of men; but specially the lawyers of this realm. And finally, to the intent that no man should hate him for fear, and that his deceitful clemency might get him the good-will of the people, when he had declared the discommodity of discord, and the commodities of concord and unity, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enmities, and that he there did openly pardon all offences committed against him. And to the intent that he might shew a proof thereof, he commanded that one Fogge, whom he had long deadly hated, should be brought then before him. Who being brought out of the sanctuary by, for

thither had he fled for fear of him, in the sight of the people, he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people rejoiced-at and praised, but wise men took it for a vanity. In his return homeward, whomsoever he met he saluted; for a mind that knoweth itself guilty, is in a manner dejected to a servile flattery.

When he had begun his reign the —— day of June, after this mockish election, then was he crowned the —— day of the same month. And that solemnity was furnished for the most part with the self same provision, that was appointed for the coronation of his nephew.

Now fell there mischiefs thick. And as the thing evil gotten is never well kept, through all the time of his reign never ceased there cruel death and slaughter, till his own destruction ended it. But, as he finished his time with the best death and the most righteous, that is, to-wit his own; so began he with the most piteous and wicked, I mean the lamentable murder of his innocent nephews, the young king and his tender brother. Whose death and final infortune hath nevertheless so far come in question, that some remain yet in doubt whether they were in his days destroyed or no. Not for *that* only, that Perkin Warbecke, by many folks' malice and more folks' folly, so long space abusing the world, was, as well with princes as the poorer people, reputed and taken for the younger of those two. But for *that* also, that all things were in late days so covertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another meant, that

there was nothing so plain and openly proved but that yet, for the common custom of close and covert dealing, men had it ever inwardly suspect; as, many well-counterfeited jewels make the true mistrusted.

Howbeit concerning that opinion, with the occasions moving either party, we shall have place more at large to entreat, if we hereafter happen to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memory King Henry VII, or percase that history of Perkin in any compendious process by itself. But in the meantime for this present matter, I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes; not after every way that I have heard, but after that way that I have so heard, by such men and by such means, as methinketh it were hard but it should be true.

King Richard, after his coronation, taking his way to Gloucester, to visit in his new honour the town of which he bare the name of his old, devised as he rode to fulfil that thing which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mind gave him, that, his nephews living, men would not reckon that he could have right to the realm, he thought therefore without delay to rid them; as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindly king. Whereupon he sent one John Grene, whom he specially trusted, unto Sir Robert Brakenbery, constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same Sir Robert should in anywise put the two children to death. This John Grene did his errand unto Brakenbery kneeling

before our Lady in the Tower; who plainly answered, that he would never put them to death, to die therefore. With which answer John Grene returning, recounted the same to King Richard at Warwick, yet on his way.

Wherewith he took such displeasure and thought, that the same night be said unto a secret page of his, *ah! whom shall a man trust? Those that I have brought-up myself, those that I had weened would most surely serve me, even those fail me, and at my commandment will do nothing for me.*

Sir, quoth his page, *there lieth one on your pailet without, who I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse;* meaning this by Sir James Tyrel, who was a man of right goodly personage, and, for nature's gifts, worthy to have served a much better prince; if he had well served God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit. The man had an high heart and sore longed upward; not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept-under by the means of Sir Richard Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby; who longing for no more partners of the prince's favour, and namely not for him (whose pride they wist would bear no peer) kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust. Which thing this page well had marked and known. Wherefore, this occasion offered, of very special friendship, he took his time to put him forward, and by suchwise do him good, that all the enemies he had except the devil could never have done him so much hurt.

For upon this page's words King Richard arose (for this communication had he sitting at the draught, a convenient carpet for such a council), and came-out into the pailet-chamber; on which he found in bed Sir James and Sir Thomas Tyrel, of person like and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions. Then said the king merrily to them, *what sirs be ye in bed so soon?* and calling-up Sir James, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischievous matter, in which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow he sent him to Brakenbery with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliver Sir James all the keys of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accomplish the king's pleasure in such thing as he had given him commandment. After which letter delivered and the keys received, Sir James appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, devising before and preparing the means.

The prince, as soon as the protector left that name and took himself as king, had it shewed unto him that he should not reign but his uncle should have the crown. At which word the prince sore abashed, began to sigh and said, *alas! I would my uncle would let me have my life yet though I lose my kingdom!* Then he who told him the tale used him with good words, and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith were the prince and his brother both shut-up, and all others removed from them, only one called Black Will or William Slaughter excepted, set to serve them and see them sure. After which time, the prince never tied his

points nor aught rought of himself; but, with that young babe his brother, lingered in thought and heaviness, till this traitorous death delivered them of that wretchedness.

For Sir James Tyrel devised, that they should be murdered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forest, one of the four who kept them, a fellow fleshed in murder beforetime. To him he joined one John Dighton, his own horse-keeper, a big, broad, square, strong knave. Then, all the others being removed from them, this Miles Forest and John Dighton about midnight, the silly children lying in their beds, came into the chamber, and suddenly lapped them up among the clothes, so bewrapped them and entangled them, keeping-down by force the feather-bed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while, smothered and stifled, their breath failing, they gave-up to God their innocent souls into the joys of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed.

Whom after that the wretches perceived, first by the struggling with the pains of death, and after long lying still, to be thoroughly dead, they laid their bodies naked out upon the bed, and fetched Sir James to see them. Who, upon the sight of them, caused those murderers to bury them at the stair-foot, meetly deep in the ground, under a great heap of stones.

Then rode Sir James in great haste to King Richard, and shewed him all the manner of the murder; who gave

him great thanks, and as some say there made him knight. But he allowed not, as I have heard, *that* burying in so vile a corner, saying, that he would have them buried in a better place, because they were a king's sons,—lo! the honourable courage of a king! Whereupon, they say, that a priest of Sir Robert Brakenbery took-up the bodies again, and secretly interred them in such place, as, by the occasion of his death who only knew it, could never since come to light. Very truth is it, and well known, that at such time as Sir James Tyrel was in the Tower for treason committed against the most famous prince King Henry VII, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in manner above written. But whether the bodies were removed they could nothing tell.

And thus, as I have learned of them who much knew and little cause had to lie, were these two noble princes, these innocent tender children, born of most royal blood, brought-up in great wealth, likely long to live, to reign and rule in the realm, by traitorous tyranny taken, deprived of their estate, shortly shut-up in prison, and privily slain and murdered, their bodies cast God wot where; by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle and his dispiteous tormentors! Which things on every part well pondered, God never gave this world a more notable example, neither in what unsurety standeth this worldly well, or what mischief worketh the proud enterprise of an high heart, or finally what wretched end ensueth such dispiteous cruelty.

For first, to begin with the ministers, Miles Forest, at St. Martins, peicemeal rotted away. Dighton indeed yet walketh-on alive, in good possibility to be hanged ere he die. But Sir James Tyrel died at Tower-hill, beheaded for treason. King Richard himself, as ye shall hereafter hear, slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies' hands, harried on horseback dead, his hair in despite torn and tugged like a cur dog. And the mischief that he took, within less than three years of the mischief that he did; and yet all the meantime spent in much pain and trouble outward, much fear, anguish and sorrow within. For I have heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberers, that after this abominable deed done, he never had quiet in his mind, he never thought himself sure. Where he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one alway ready to strike again. He took ill rest at nights, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, he rather slumbered than slept. Troubled with fearful dreams, suddenly sometimes started he up, leapt out of his bed and ran about the chamber. So was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed!

Now had he outward no long time in rest. For hereupon soon after began the conspiracy, or rather good confederation, between the duke of Buckingham and many other gentlemen, against him.

The occasion whereupon the king and the duke fell-out, is of divers folk divers wise pretended. This duke, as I have for certain been informed, as soon as the duke of Gloucester upon the death of King Edward came to York, and there had solemn funeral service for King Edward, sent thither in the most secret wise he could one Persal, his trusty servant. Who came to John Warde, a chamberer, of like secret trust with the duke of Gloucester, desiring that in the most close and covert manner, he might be admitted to the presence and speech of his master. And the duke of Gloucester, advertised of his desire, caused him, in the dead of the night, after all other folk avoided, to be brought unto him in his secret chamber. Where Persal, after his master's recommendation shewed him, that he had secretly sent him to shew him, that in this new world he would take such part as he would, and wait upon him with a thousand good fellows if need were.

The messenger sent back with thanks and some secret instruction of the protector's mind, yet met him again with farther message from the duke his master within few days after at Nottingham; whither the protector, from York, with many gentlemen of the north country, to the number of six hundred horse, was come on his way to Londonward. And after secret meeting and communication had, eftsoon departed. Whereupon, at Northampton, the duke met with the protector himself, with three hundred horse, and from thence still continued with him partner of all his devices, till that after his coronation they departed as it seem-

ed very great friends at Gloucester. From whence as soon as the duke came home, he so lightly turned from him and so highly conspired against him, that a man would marvel whereof the change grew.

And surely the occasion of their variance is of divers men diversly reported. Some have I heard say, that the duke, a little before the coronation, among other things required of the protector the duke of Hertford's lands, to which he pretended himself just inheritor. And forasmuch as the title which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title to the crown, by that line of King Henry before deprived, the protector conceived such indignation, that he rejected the duke's request with many spiteful and minatory words. Which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he never after could endure to look aright on King Richard; but ever feared his own life. So far forth that when the protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feigned himself sick because he would not ride with him. And the other, taking it in evil part, sent him word to rise and come ride, or he would make him be carried. Whereupon he rode-on with evil will; and *that* notwithstanding, on the morrow rose from the feast, feigning himself sick; and King Richard said, it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say that ever after, continually, each of them lived in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke verily looked to have been murdered at Gloucester; from which nevertheless he in fair manner departed.

But surely some right secret at that day deny this. And many right wise men think it unlikely, the deep dissembling nature of those both men considered, and what need in that green world the protector had of the duke, and in what peril the duke stood if he fell once in suspicion of the tyrant, that either the protector would give the duke occasion of displeasure, or the duke the protector occasion of mistrust. And utterly men think, that if King Richard had any such opinion conceived, he would never have suffered him to escape his hands. Very truth it is, the duke was an high minded man and evil could bear the glory of another. So that I have heard of some, who said they saw it, that the duke, at such time as the crown was first set upon the protector's head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his head another way.

But men say that he was of truth not well at ease, and *that* both to King Richard well known and not ill-taken, nor any demand of the duke's uncourteously rejected; but he both with great gifts and high behests, in most loving and trusty manner, departed at Gloucester. But soon after his coming home to Brecknock, having there in his custody, by the commandment of King Richard, Dr. Morton, bishop of Ely, who, as ye before heard, was taken in the council at the Tower, waxed with him familiar. Whose wisdom abused his pride, to his own deliverance and the duke's destruction.

The bishop was a man of great natural wit, very well

learned, and honourable in behaviour, lacking no wise ways to win favour. He had been fast upon the part of King Henry, while that part was in wealth; and nevertheless left it not nor forsook it in woe; but fled the realm with the queen and the prince while King Edward had that king in prison, never came home but to the field, after which lost and the party utterly subdued, the other, for his fast faith and wisdom, not only was content to receive him, but also wooed him to come; and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust and very special favour. Which he nothing deceived. For he being, as ye have heard, after King Edward's death, first taken by the tyrant for his truth to the king, found the mean to set this duke in his top, joined gentlemen together in aid of King Henry, devising first the marriage between him and King Edward's daughter. By which, his faith declared, and good service to both his masters at once, with infinite benefit to the realm by the conjunction of those two bloods in one whose several titles had long inquieted the land, he fled the realm, went to Rome, never minding more to meddle with the world. Till that noble prince, King Henry VII, gat him home again, made him archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, whereunto the pope joined the honour of cardinal. Thus living many days in as much honour as one man might well wish, ended them so godly, that his death with God's mercy well changed his life.

This man therefore, as I was about to tell ye, by that long and often-alternate proof as well of prosperity as ad-

verse fortune, had gotten by great experience, the very mother and mistress of wisdom, a deep insight in politic, worldly drifts. Whereby, perceiving now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with fair words and many pleasant praises. And perceiving, by the process of their communications, the duke's pride now and then balk out a little breed of envy toward the glory of the king, and thereby feeling him easy to fall out if the matter were well handled, he craftily sought the ways to prick him forward, taking alway the occasion of his coming, and so keeping himself close within his bonds, that he rather seemed him to follow him than to lead him.

For when the duke first began to praise and boast the king, and shew how much profit the realm should take by his reign, my Lord Morton answered, 'Surely, my lord, folly were it for me to lie. For if I would swear the contrary, your lordship would not I ween believe, but, that if the world would have gone as I would have wished, King Henry's son had had the crown and not King Edward. But after that God had ordered him to lose it, and King Edward to reign, I was never so mad that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. So was I to King Edward faithful chaplain, and glad would have been that his child had succeeded him. Howbeit if the secret judgment of God have otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurn against a prick, nor labour to set-up *that* God pulleth-down. And as for the late protector and now king,'——and even there he left, saying that he had already meddled too much

with the world, and would from that day meddle with his book and his beads, and no farther.

Then longed the duke sore to hear what he would have said, because he ended with the king and there so suddenly stopped. And exhorted him so familiarly, between them twain to be bold to say whatsoever he thought, whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good than he would ween; and that himself intended to use his faithful secret advice and counsel, which he said was the only cause for which he procured of the king to have him in his custody, where he might reckon himself at home, and else had he been put in the hands of them with whom he should not have founden the like favour.

The bishop right humbly thanked him, and said, 'In good faith, my lord, I love not much to talk much of princes, as a thing not all out of peril though the word be without fault; forasmuch as, it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the prince to construe it. And ever I think on Æsop's tale, that when the lion had proclaimed, that on pain of death there should none horned beast abide in that wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh fled away a great pace. The fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste? And he answered, *in faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of this proclamation made of horned beasts. What fool!* quoth the fox, *thou mayest*

abide well enough, the lion meant not by thee, for it is none horn that is in thine head. No marry, quoth he, *that wot I well enough; but what and he call it an horn, where am I then?'*

The duke laughed merrily at the tale, and said, 'My lord, I warrant you, neither the lion nor the boar shall pike any matter at anything here spoken; for it shall never come near their ear.'

'In good faith, sir,' said the bishop, 'if it did, the thing that I was about to say, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deserve but thank; and yet, taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to less.'

Then longed the duke yet much more to wit what it was. Whereupon the bishop said, 'In good faith, my lord, as for the late protector, since he is now king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title. But for the weal of this realm, whereof his grace hath now the governance, and whereof I am myself one poor member, I was about to wish, that to those good abilities whereof he hath already right many, little needing my praise, it might yet have pleased God, for the better store, to have given him some of such other excellent virtues meet for the rule of a realm, as our Lord hath planted in the person of your grace.'

THOMÆ MORI

POEMATA,

QUIBUS PRÆMISSA SUNT QUÆDAM IPSIUS ET GUILIELMI LILII PROGYMNASMATA.

BEATUS RHENANUS

BILIBALDO PIRCKHEIMERO,

MAXIMILIANI CÆSARIS CONSILIARIO, & SENATORI NORIMBERGENSI,

S. D.

BELLE prorsus convenire mihi visum fuit, clarissime Bilibalde, si Thomæ Mori illius Britanniæ decoris Epigrammata, quæ nuper Erasmus noster Roterodamus ad me misit, tibi nominatim inscriberem: siquidem multis adeò rebus similes inter vos estis. Uterque Jurisperitus, uterque cùm Romanè, tum Græcè doctus, uterque non in publicis modò suæ civitatis functionibus versans, sed et ob singularem negotiorum explicandorum dexteritatem, et in dandis consiliis prudentiam, suo quisque Principi charissimus: ille potentissimo Britannorum Regi Henrico, tu sacratissimo Cæsari Maximiliano. Nam quid de fortunis attinet commemorare, quas utrique possidetis amplissimas, ut vel hoc quicquid est ornamenti, quod ex divitiis accedere putatur, neutri desit, quin potius edendis virtutum, maximè liberalitatis, exemplis abunde supersit materia. Sed et utrique pater obtigit non minus literis, quam senatoria familia clarus. Itaque cum amicitiæ similitudo sit autor et æqualitas, hanc Mori fœturam tibi nuncupare congruentissimum duxi, ut quem multis alioqui nominibus amore prosequeris, de his etiam Epigrammatis impensius complectaris, ames, magnifacias. Huc adde, quod nemini

rectius mitti poterant hi lepidissimi lusus, quam ei, qui in hanc, quod aiunt, arenam aliquando sit descendere solitus. Nam is demum noverit, quàm sit egregia res doctum epigramma, quisquis ipse fuerit suum nonnunquam ingenium in hoc exercitationis genere periclitatus. Sed enim, id quod te non latet, argutiam habeat epigramma cum brevitate conjunctam, sit festivum, et acclamatiunculis, quæ ἐπιφωνήματα Græci vocant, subinde claudatur. Quas sanè dotes omnes cumulatissimè licet in his Moricis epigrammatibus reperire, præsertim in his quæ ipse genuit: nam in cæteris, quæ è Græcis versa sunt, inventionis laus priscis tribuitur. Quanquam hic quoque non minus magni fieri meretur, commodè reddens ex aliena lingua, quàm scribens: labor certe vertentis sæpè major. Siquidem qui scribit, liber est, & inventioni liberè vacat: at qui transfert, ad aliud subinde respicere cogitur, nimirum ad id quod vertendum desumsit: quod quoties fit, multo plus sudat ingenium, quàm cum suum aliquid progignit. Utrobique sanè mirus est Thomas Morus: nam elegantissimè componit, & felicissimè vertit. Quàm fluunt suaviter hujus carmina! Quàm est hic nihil coactum! Quàm sunt omnia facilia! Nihil hic durum, nihil scabrum, nihil tenebricosum. Candidus est, argutus, Latinus. Porrò gratissima quadam festivitate sic omnia temperat, ut nihil unquam viderim lepidius. Crediderim ego Musas quicquid usquam est jocorum, leporis, salium, in hunc contulisse. Quàm lusit eleganter ad Sabinum alienos pro suis tollentem liberos. Quàm salsè Lalum ridet, qui videri Gallus tam ambitiose cupiebat? Sunt autem hujus sales nequaquam mordaces, sed candidi, melliti, blandi, & quidvis potius quam amarulenti. Jocatur etiam, sed ubique citra dentem: ridet, sed citra contumeliam. Jam inter epigrammatographos Pontanum & Marullum inprimis hodie miratur Italia: at dispeream, si non tantundem in hoc est naturæ, utilitatis verò plus. Nisi si quis inde magnopere se credit juvari, dum suam Neæram celebrat Marullus, & in multis ἀνιτ[ε]λαι, Heraclitum quendam agens: aut dum Jovius Pontanus veterum nobis Epigrammatistarum nequitias refert,

quibus nihil sit frigidius, & boni viri lectione magis indignum, ne dicam Christiani. Scilicet usque adeò vetustatem istis æmulari cordi fuit: quam ne contaminarent, sic à sacris abstinuerunt, ut à Græcis olim Pomponius Lætus, ne Romanæ linguæ castimoniam violaret, homo superstitiosè Romanus. Cæterùm quemadmodum hi lusus Mori ingenium ostendunt & insignem eruditionem, sic judicium nimirum acre, quod de rebus habet, ex Utopia cumulatissimè eluxerit. De qua paucis obiter meminero, quòd hanc accuratissimus in literis Budæus, incomparabilis ille melioris eruditionis antistes, & ingens atque adeò unicum Galliarum decus, ita ut decebat, luculenta præfatione laudavit. Habet ea hoc genus decreta, qualia nec apud Platonem, nec apud Aristotelem, aut etiam Justiniani vestri Pandectas sit reperire. Et docet minus forsan philosophicè, quam illi, sed magis Christianè. Quanquam (audi per Musas bellam historiam) cum hic nuper in quodam gravium aliquot Virorum consessu, Utopiæ mentio orta fuisset, & illam ego laudibus veherem, negabat quidam pinguis, plus habendum Moro gratiæ, quàm Actuario cuipiam scribæ, qui in curia aliorum sententias duntaxat enotet, doriphorematis ritu (quod aiunt) interim assidendo, nihil ipse censens: quod diceret ea omnia ex Hythlodæi ore excepta, & à Moro tantum in literas missa. Proinde Morum nullo laudandum alioqui nomine, nisi quòd hæc commodè retulisset. Et non deerant, qui hominis judicio, velut rectissimè sentientis, album adjicerent calculum. Ἄρα ὲ σὺ τυτονὶ τοῦ Μώρυ χαριεντισμὸν δέχῃ, τοιύτυς ἄνδρας ὲ τὺς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ τὺς δοκίμυς, παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα θεολόγυς, πλανήσαντος. Postremo si hoc quoque scire cupis: Guilielmus Lilius, Mori sodalis, cum quo vertendis Græcis epigrammatibus jam olim collusit, quæ Progymnasmatum titulo sunt inscripta, Britannus est, vir omnifariam doctus, non modò Græcos autores, sed & ejus nationis mores vernaculos domesticè notos habens, ut qui in insula Rhodo fuerit aliquot annos commoratus: is nunc ludum literarium, quem Londini Coletus instituit, magna cum laude exercet. Quod superest, cum tibi per occupationes licebit, quibus in obeundis

legationibus administrandaque Republica, laboriosissimè distraheris, hoc libelli in manum cape, lege, & Moro, cujus os, ut puto, nondum vidisti, sed ex scriptis jampridem cognitum habes, fave. Bene vale clarissime vir. Basileæ, VII. Cal. Martias. M.D.XVIII.

PROGYMNASMATA

THOMÆ MORI ET GUILIELMI LILII,

SODALIUM.

ΛΟΥΚΙΛΛΙΟΥ.

Μυν ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ φιλάργυρος εἶδεν ἐν οἴκῳ,
Καὶ τί ποιεῖς, φησιν, φίλτατε μοῦ παρ' ἐμοί;
Ηδὺ δὲ μῦς γελάσας, μηδὲν φίλε, φησὶ, φοβηθῇς,
Οὐχὶ τροφῆς παρὰ σοὶ χρῄζομεν, ἀλλὰ μονῆς.

T. MORI IN AVARUM.

Murem Asclepiades ut apud se vidit avarus,
Mus quid in æde facis, dixit, amice mea?
Mus blandè arridens, tolle, inquit, amice timorem:
Hic ego non victum quæro, sed hospitium.

G. LILII.

Murem Asclepiades in tecto vidit avarus,
Et quid apud me ô mus, inquit, amice facis?
Mus ridens, inquit, nihil ô verearis amice:
Non abs te victum, sed mihi quæro domum.

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΑ.

Πλοῦτον μὲν πλουτοῦντος ἔχεις, ψυχὴν δὲ πένητος,
Ω τοῖς κληρονόμοις πλούσιε, σοὶ δὲ πένης.

G. LILII IN AVARUM.

Divitias locupletis habes, animam sed egeni:
Hæredi ô dives, sed tibi solus egens.

T. MORI.

Divitias locupletis habes, inopis tibi mens est,
O miser hæredi dives, inopsque tibi.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ.

Ἀγρὸς ἀχαιμενίδαι γενόμην ποτὲ, νῦν δὲ μενίππου,
Καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἑτέρου βήσομαι εἰς ἕτερον.
Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔχειν μέ ποτ' ᾤετο καὶ πάλιν ἕτος
Οἴεται εἰμὶ δ' ὅλως ἀδένος, ἀλλὰ τύχης.

G. LILII DE POSSESSIONIBUS INCERTIS.

Nuper Achæmenidæ, sed nunc sumus arva Menippi,
Et nunc hunc rursus, nunc alium petimus.
Ille etenim nuper, nunc et nos alter habere
Se putat: at nobis nil nisi casus inest.

T. MORI.

Nuper Achæmenidæ fueram, nunc ecce Menippi:
Atque alium rursus deveniam ex alio.
Me proprium nunc iste putat, proprium ille putabat:
Ast ego nullius sum, nisi sortis ager.

ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Σώματα πολλὰ τρέφειν, καὶ δώματα πολλ' ἀνεγείρειν,
Ἀτραπὸς εἰς πενίην ἐστὶν ἑτοιμοτάτη.

T. MORI DE LUXU IMMODICO.

Multas ædificare domos, et pascere multos,
Est ad pauperiem semita recta quidem.

G. LILII.

Corpora multa alere, et complures ponere sedes,
Ipsa est ad summam semita pauperiem.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ.

Ὡς τεθνηξόμενος τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυε,
Ὡς δὲ βιωσόμενος, φείδεο σῶν κτεάνων.
Ἐσθλὸ δ' ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἔτος, ὃς ἄμφω ταῦτα νοήσας,
Φειδοῖ, καὶ δαπανῇ μέτρον ἐφημόσατο.

G. LILII DE MODERATO SUMTU.

Divitiis utare tuis, tanquam moriturus:
Tanquam victurus, parcito divitiis.
Vir sapiens est ille quidem, qui hæc ambo volutans
Parcit, quique modum sumtibus applicuit.

T. MORI.

Tanquam jam moriturus partis utere rebus:
Tanquam victurus denuò parce tuis.
Ille sapit, qui perpensis his ritè duobus,
Parcus erit certo munificusque modo.

ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Ἐλπὶς καὶ σὺ τύχη, μέγα χαίρετε, τὸν λιμέν' ἔυρον
Οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ χ' ὑμῖν, παίζετε τὰς μετ' ἐμέ.

T. MORI DE CONTEMPTU FORTUNÆ.

Jam portum inveni, Spes et Fortuna valete:
Nil mihi vobiscum est, ludite nunc alios.

G. LILII.

Inveni portum, Spes et Fortuna valete:
Nil mihi vobiscum, ludite nunc alios.

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΑ.

Γῆς ἐπέβην γυμνὸς, γυμνὸς θ' ὕπο γαίαν ἄπειμι,
Καί τι μάτην μοχθῶ, γυμνὸν ὁμῶν τὸ τέλος.

G. LILII DE MORTE.

Ingredior nudus terram, egredior quoque nudus,
Quid frustra studeo, funera nuda videns ?

T. MORI.

Nudus ut in terram veni, sic nudus abibo :
Quid frustra sudo, funera nuda videns ?

ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Οἴνῳ, καὶ τὰ λοετρὰ, καὶ ἡ περὶ κύπριν ἐρωὴ,
Ὀξυτέρην πέμπει τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς ἀίδην.

T. MORI DE LUXU ET LIBIDINE.

Si quis ad infernos properet descendere manes,
Huc iter accelerant, balnea, vina, Venus.

G. LILII.

Nos caligantis rapiunt ad tecta tyranni,
Præcipiti cursu, balnea, vina, Venus.

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΑ.

Οὐχ' ὅτω βλάπλει μισεῖν ὁ λέγων ἀναφανδὸν,
Ὥσπερ ὁ τὴν καθαρὰν ψευδόμενος φιλίαν.
Τὸν μὲν γὰρ μισοῦντα προειδότες, ἐκτρεπόμεθα,
Τόνδε λέγοντα φιλεῖν, ἐ προφυλασσόμεθα.
Ἐχθρὸν ἐγὼ κεῖνον κρίνω βαρὺν, ὅς ποτε λάθῃ
Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς φιλίης πίστιν ἔχων, ἀδικεῖ.

T. MORI DE FICTO AMICO.

Non æquè nocet hic, qui sese odisse fatetur,
Atque hic qui puram fingit amicitiam.
Osorem monitus fugio : fugiisse sed illum
Quomodo qui se me fingit amare, queo ?
Pessimus hic certe est inimicus, quisquis amicus
Creditus, occulta subdolus arte nocet.

G. LILII.

Non is tam lædit, liquidè qui dixerit, *odi*,
Quàm qui sinceram fingit amicitiam.
Vitabis certè quem noveris esse nocentem ;
Ast illum nunquam qui tibi dixit, *amo*.
Ille mihi gravis est hostis, qui clam nocuisse
Gaudet, quique fidem fert in amicitia.

ΕΙΣ ΛΑΚΑΙΝΑΝ, ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Γυμνὸν ἰδοῦσα λάκαινα παλίντροπον ἐκ πολέμοιο
Παῖδ' ἑὸν εἰς πάτραν ὠκυν ἰέντα πόδα,
Αντίη ἄιξασα, δι' ἤπατος ἦκασε λόγχην,
Ἀῤῥενα ῥηξαμένη φθόγγον ἐπὶ κταμενῷ.
Αλλότριον σπάρτας εἶπεν γρύος, ἔῤῥε πόθ' ᾅδαν,
Ερῤ' ἐπεὶ ἐψεύσω πατρίδα, καὶ γενέτας.

T. MORI DE MILITE SPARTANO.

In patriam amissis celeri pede dum redit armis,
Conspiciens gnatum sæva Lacæna suum,
Obvia sublata corpus transverberat hasta,
Hæc super occisum mascula verba loquens :
Degener ô Spartes genus, ito in Tartara tandem,
Ito, degeneras et patria et genere.

G. LILII.

Quum nudum è bello gnatum remeare Lacæna
Vidit, et in patrios accelerare lares.
Insultans contrà, pectus trajecerat hasta,
Horrida in extinctum voce virago furens :
Spartanam quando es patriam mentitus, avosque,
Ad manes tandem degener, inquit, abi.

ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ.

Χωλὸν ἔχεις τὸν νῦν ὡς τὸν πόδα, καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς
Εἰκόνα τῶν ἐντὸς σὴ φύσις ἐκτὸς ἔχει.

T. MORI IN CLAUDUM ET STUPIDUM.

Clauda tibi mens est, ut pes: natura notasque
Exterior certas interioris habet.

G. LILII.

Tardus es ingenio, ut pedibus: natura etenim dat
Exterius specimen, quod latet interius.

ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Εἰ μεν ἦν μαθεῖν ἃ δεῖ παθεῖν,
Καὶ μὴ παθεῖν, καλὸν ἦν τὸ μαθεῖν.
Εἰ δὲ δεῖ παθεῖν ἃ δεῖ μαθεῖν,
Τί δεῖ μαθεῖν; παθεῖν γὰρ χρῆ.

T. MORI, THEOPHRASTI APUD AULUM GELLIUM DILEMMA.

Si vitare queas, quæ sunt patienda, sciendo:
Scire quidem pulchrum, quæ paterere, foret.
Sin quæ præscieris vitandi est nulla potestas,
Quid præscire juvat, quæ patiere tamen?

G. LILII.

Si posset casus quisquam præscire futuros:
Et vitare simul, scire suave foret.
Sin patienda tibi prorsus quæ scire requiris,
Quid præscisse juvat? namque necesse pati.

T. MORI, CARMINE JAMBICO TRIMETRO.

Præscire si queas quæ oporteat pati,
Queasque non pati, bonum est ut præscias:
At si te oporteat, licet scias, pati,
Præscire quid juvat? necesse enim est pati.

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΑ.

Δὶς δύ' ἀδελφὰς οὐ ἐπέχει τάφος· ἓν γὰρ ἐπέσχον
Ἥμαρ καὶ γενεῆς οἱ δύο, καὶ θανάτου.

T. MORI, IN DUOS FRATRES, UNO ET NATOS ET MORTUOS DIE.

Quatuor hic tumulus fratres complectitur: ex his
Lux simul una duos et parit, et perimit.

G. LILII.

Quatuor hic tumulus fratres habet: una duobus
Lux et natalis, mortis et una fuit.

ΑΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΝ.

Ζεὺς, κύκνος, ταῦρος, σάτυρος, χρυσὸς δ' ἔρωτα
Λήδης, εὐρώπης, ἀντιόπης, δανάης.

T. MORI, DE JOVE MUTATO.

Taurus, Olor, Satyrusque ob amorem, et Jupiter aurum est,
Europes, Ledes, Antiopes, Danaes.

G. LILII.

Taurus, Olor, Satyrus, per amorem Jupiter aurum,
Europæ, Ledes, Antiopæ, Danaes.

ΑΔΗΛΟΝ.

Εννέα τὰς μούσας φασίν τινες ὡς ὀλιγώρως
Ηνὶ δὲ καὶ σαπφὼ λεσβόθεν ἡ δεκάτη.

T. MORI, IN SAPPHO.

Musas esse novem referunt, sed prorsus aberrant:
Lesbica jam Sappho Pieris est decima.

G. LILII.

Quàm temerè dixere novem quidam esse sorores
Musarum: en Sappho Lesbis adest decima.

ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ.

Ἡ σάτυρος τὸν χαλκὸν ὑπέδραμεν, ἢ διὰ τέχνης
Χαλκὸς ἀναγκασθεὶς, ἀμφεχύθη σατύρῳ.

G. LILII, IN ÆREAM SATYRI STATUAM.

Aut Satyrus fusus circum æs, aut arte coactum
Illud idem circumfusum erat æs Satyro.

T. MORI.

Prorsum admiranda dum circumflectitur arte,
Aut Satyrum hoc tegit æs, aut Satyro æs tegitur.

EJUSDEM.

Aut isti Satyrus jam circumflectitur æri,
Aut isto Satyrus jam circumflectitur ære.

ΕΙΣ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ ΝΙΟΒΗΣ.

Ἐκ ζωῆς μὲ θεοὶ τεύξαν λίθον, ἐκ δὲ λίθοιο
Ζωὴν Πραξιτέλης ἔμπαλιν ἐργάσατο.

G. LILII, IN STATUAM NIOBES.

Ex vita saxum Diî me fecere: sed ipse
Ex saxo vitam denuò Praxiteles.

T. MORI.

Diî ex viva lapidem fecere: at quum lapis essem,
Me vivam fecit denuò Praxiteles.

ΣΙΜΩΝΙΔΟΥ.

Δῆμος ἀθηναίων σὲ νεοπτόλεμ' εἰκόνι τῇδε
Τίμησ' εὐνοίης, εὐσεβίης θ' ἕνεκα.

T. MORI, IN STATUAM NEOPTOLEMI.

Cecropis urbs te tota Neoptoleme hac statua ornat,
Ut faciat, faciunt hinc amor, hinc pietas.

G. LILII.

Hoc te donarat propter pietatem et amorem
Signo Cecropidûm turba, Neoptoleme.

PROGYMNASMATUM
THOMÆ MORI ET GUILIELMI LILII,
SODALIUM, FINIS.

THOMÆ MORI

IN

INAUGURATIONEM REGIS ET REGINÆ

CARMEN GRATULATORIUM.

HENRICO VIII, ANGLIÆ REGI,

THOMAS MORUS, S.

VEREOR, Illustrissime Princeps, dum more virginum, quæ satis formæ suæ non fidunt, picturæ lenocinio gratiam illepidis versiculis comparare studeo, ne eos qua maximè dote placere potuissent, id est, ipsius rei novitate, fraudarim. Nam quum illicò in præsentem coronationem tuam conscriptos eos pictori exornandos dedissem, effecit certè podagra, qua protinus quàm opus inchoavit, incommodissimè tentatus est, ut eos nunc tandem, serius aliquanto quam res postulare videbatur, exhibeam. Itaque si tecum pro insita humanitate tua liberius agi sinis, haud scio, majoremne gratiam versiculis nostris pictoris manus adjecerint, an pedes ademerint. Quippe quibus effectum est, ut mihi verendum sit, ne non minus sera, ac proinde intempestiva, videri tibi possit hæc nostra gratulatio, quàm olim Tiberio Principi visa est Iliensium illa consolatio, qua eum de morte filii, jamdiu defuncti, consolobantur, quam ille faceta dicacitate delusit, respondens, se eorum quoque vicem dolere, quòd bonum militem amisissent Hectorem. Verùm eorum officium, ad luctum non senescentem modò, sed planè præmortuum, non potuit esse non ridiculum: meum verò ab hoc vitio vendicat immensa illa de celebri coronatione tua lætitia: quæ quum pectoribus omnium tam efficacem sui vim ac præsentiam impresserit, ut senescere vel integra ætate non possit, effecit nimirum, ut hoc meum officium non serò re peracta atque evanida, sed præsens in rem præsentem pervenisse videatur. Vale Princeps Illustrissime, et (qui novus ac rarus regum titulus est) amatissime.

IN SUSCEPTI DIADEMATIS DIEM

HENRICI VIII, ILLUSTRISSIMI AC FAUSTISSIMI BRITANNIARUM REGIS, AC CATHARINÆ REGINÆ EJUS FELICISSIMÆ,

THOMÆ MORI,

LONDONIENSIS,

CARMEN GRATULATORIUM.

Si qua dies unquam, si quod fuit, Anglia, tempus,
Gratia quo superis esset agenda tibi :
Hæc est illa dies niveo signanda lapillo,
Læta dies fastis annumeranda tuis.
Meta hæc servitii est, hæc libertatis origo,
Tristitiæ finis, lætitiæque caput.
Nam juvenem secli decus ô memorabile nostri
Ungit, et in Regem præficit ista tuum.
Regem qui populi non unius usque, sed orbis
Imperio dignus totius unus erat.
Regem qui cunctis lacrymas detergat ocellis,
Gaudia pro longo substituat gemitu.
Omnia discussis arrident pectora curis,
Ut solet excussa nube nitere dies.
Jam populus vultu liber præcurrit amœno,
Jam vix lætitiam concipit ipse suam.
Gaudet, ovat, gestit, tali sibi Rege triumphat,
Nec quicquam nisi Rex quolibet ore sonat.
Nobilitas, vulgi jamdudum obnoxia feci,
Nobilitas, nimium nomen inane tiu,
Nunc caput attollit, nunc tali Rege triumphat,
Et meritò : causas unde triumphet, habet.
Mercator variis deterritus antè tributis,
Nunc maris insuetas puppe resulcat aquas.

Leges invalidæ prius, imò nocere coactæ,
Nunc vires gaudent obtinuisse suas.
Congaudent omnes pariter, pariterque rependunt
Omnes venturo damna priora bono.
Jam quas abdiderat cæcis timor antè latebris,
Promere quisque suas gaudet et audet opes.
Jam juvat ô, potuit tot furum si qua tot uncas
Tam circumspectas fallere præda manus.
Non jam divitias ullum est (magnum esse solebat)
Quæsitas nullo crimen habere dolo.
Non metus occultos insibilat aure susurros :
Nemo quod taceat, quodve susurret, habet.
Jam delatores volupe est contemnere, nemo
Deferri, nisi qui detulit antè, timet.
Conveniunt igitur simul ætas, sexus, et ordo,
Causaque non ullum continet ulla domi,
Quo minus intersint, dum sacris rite peractis,
Rex init auspiciis regna Britanna bonis.
Quacunque ingreditur, studio conferta videndi
Vix sinit angustam turba patere viam.
Opplenturque domus, et pondere tecta laborant,
Tollitur affectu clamor ubique novo.
Nec semel est vidisse satis, loca plurima mutant,
Si qua rursus eum parte videre queant.
Ter spectare juvat : quidni hunc spectare juvaret,
Quo natura nihil finxit amabilius ?
Mille inter comites excelsior omnibus extat,
Et dignum augusto corpore robur habet.
Nec minus ille manu est agilis, quàm pectore fortis :
Seu res districto debeat ense geri,
Seu quum protentis avidè concurritur hastis,
Seu petat oppositum missa sagitta locum.
Ignea vis oculis, Venus insidet ore, genisque
Est color, in geminis qui solet esse rosis.
Illa quidem facies alacri veneranda vigore
Esse potest teneræ virginis, esse viri.

Talis erat, Nympham quum se simulavit Achilles :
Talis, ubi Æmoniis Hectora traxit equis.
O si animi præstans unà cum corpore virtus
Cerni, natura non prohibente, queat.
Imò etiam vultu virtus pellucet ab ipso :
Est facies animi nuntia aperta boni.
Quàm matura gravi sedeat prudentia mente,
Quàm non solliciti pectoris alta quies,
Quoque modo sortem ferat et moderetur utramque,
Quanta verecundæ cura pudicitiæ,
Quàm tranquilla fovet placidum clementia pectus,
Quàm procul ex illo fastus abest animo :
Principis egregius nostri (quas fingere non est)
Præ se fert certas vultus et ipse notas.
At qua justitia est, regnandi quas habet artes,
Prosequitur populum qua pietate suum :
Hæc facilè ex vultu fiunt illustria nostro,
Hæc sunt ex nostris conspicienda bonis.
Quòd sic afficimur, quod libertate potimur,
Quodque abiere timor, damna, pericla, dolor :
Quòd rediere simul, pax, commoda, gaudia, risus,
Eximii virtus Principis inde patet.
Enervare bonas immensa licentia mentes,
Idque etiam in magnis assolet ingeniis.
At quamvis erat antè pius, mores tamen illi
Imperium dignos attulit imperio.
Nam bona quæ pauci sera fecere senecta,
Protinus in primo præstitit ille die.
Illicò correptos inclusit carcere, quisquis
Consilio regnum læserat antè malo.
Qui delator erat, vinclis constringitur arctis,
Ut mala quæ multis fecerat, ipse ferat.
Ad mercaturas aperit mare : si quod ab illis
Durius exactum est ante, remisit onus.
Despectusque diu Magnatum nobilis ordo,
Obtinuit primo pristina jura die.

Ille magistratus et munera publica, vendi
Quæ suevere malis, donat habenda bonis.
Et versis rerum vicibus feliciter, antè
Quæ tulit indoctus præmia, doctus habet.
Legibus antiquam (nam versæ evertere regnum
Debuerant) subitò vimque decusque dedit.
Omnis cumque prius prorsus desciscerat ordo,
Protinus est omnis redditus ordo sibi.
Quid quòd in his etiam voluit rescindere quædam,
Ut populo possit commodus esse suo :
Quæ tamen ante suo novit placuisse parenti,
Sic patriam, ut decuit, prætulit ille patri.
Nec miror : quid enim non Principe fiat ab illo,
Cui cultum ingenuis artibus ingenium est ?
Castalio quem fonte novem lavere sorores,
Imbuit et monitis Philosophia suis.
Nominibus populus multis obnoxius omnis
Regi erat : hoc unum pertimuitque malum,
At Rex hinc metui quum posset, posset et inde
Congerere immensas, si voluisset, opes :
Omnibus ignovit, securos reddidit omnes,
Sollicitique malum sustulit omne metus.
Ergo alios populi reges timuere : sed istum,
Per quem nunc nihil est quod timeatur, amant.
Hostibus ô Princeps multum metuende superbis :
O populo Princeps non metuende tuo.
Illi te metuunt : nos te veneramur, amamus,
Illis noster erit, cur metuaris, amor.
Sic te securum, demptoque satellite tutum,
Undique præstabunt, hinc amor, inde timor.
Extera bella quidem, coëat si Gallia Scotis,
Sit tantum concors Anglia, nemo timet.
At procul intestina aberunt certamina : nam quæ
Semina, quas causas, unde oriantur, habent ?
Primùm equidem de jure tuæ tituloque coronæ
Quæstio jam non est ulla, nec esse potest.

Quæ certare solet jam tu pars utraque solus ;
Nobilis hanc litem solvit uterque parens.
Ast magis abs te etiam est populi procul ira, tumultus
Impia civilis quæ solet esse caput.
Civibus ipse tuis tam charus es omnibus unus,
Ut nemo possit charior esse sibi.
Quòd si forte duces committeret ira potentes,
Solvetur nutu protinus illa tuo.
Tanta tibi est majestatis reverentia sacræ,
Virtutes meritò quam peperere tuæ.
Quæ tibi sunt, fuerant patrum quæcunque tuorum,
Sæcula prisca quibus nil habuere prius.
Est tibi namque tui Princeps prudentia patris,
Estque tibi matris dextra benigna tuæ.
Est tibi mens aviæ, mens religiosa paternæ,
Est tibi materni nobile pectus avi.
Quid mirum ergo, novo si gaudeat Anglia more,
Cùm qualis nunquam rexerat antè, regat ?
Quid quod lætitia hæc quæ visa est non potuisse
Crescere, conjugio crevit adaucta tuo ?
Conjugio, superi quod decrevere benigni,
Quo tibi, quoque tuis consuluere bene.
Illa tibi conjunx, lætus communia tecum
Quam vidit populus sceptra tenere tuus :
Cujus habent tantam cælestia numina curam,
Ut thalamis ornent nobilitentque tuis.
Illa est, quæ priscas vincat pietate Sabinas,
Majestate sacras vicerit hemitheas.
Illa vel Acestes castos æquarit amores,
Vel prompto superet consilio Tanaquil.
Illo ore, hoc vultu, forma est spectabilis illa,
Quæ talem ac tantam sola decere potest.
Eloquio fœcunda cui Cornelia cedat,
Inque maritali Penelopeia fide.
Illa tibi Princeps multos devota per annos,
Sola tui longa mansit amore mora.

Non illam germana soror, nec patria flexit,
Non potuit mater, non revocare pater.
Unum te matri, te prætulit illa sorori :
Te patriæ, et charo prætulit illa patri.
Illa tibi felix populos hinc inde potentes
Non dissolvenda junxit amicitia.
Regibus orta quidem magnis, nihiloque minorum est
Regum, quàm quibus est orta, futura parens.
Hactenus una tui navem tenet ancora regni,
Una : sat illa quidem firma, sed una tamen.
At Regina tibi sexu fœcunda virili
Undique firmatam perpetuamque dabit.
Proveniunt illi magna ex te commoda, rursus
Ex illa veniunt commoda magna tibi.
Non alia ulla fuit certè te digna marito :
Illa non alius conjuge dignus erat.
Anglia thura feras, sacrumque potentius omni
Thure, bonas mentes innocuasque manus.
Connubium ut superi hoc, sicuti fecere, secundent,
Ut data cœlesti sceptra regantur ope.
Utque ipsis gestata diu hæc diademata, tandem
Et natus nati gestet, et inde nepos.

EJUSDEM, IN SUBITUM IMBREM, QUI IN POMPA REGIS AC REGINÆ LARGE OBORTUS, NEC SOLEM ABSTULIT, NEC DURAVIT.

Dum peterent sacras Rex et Regina coronas,
Pompa qua nunquam pulchrior ulla fuit :
Aureus explicuit latè se Phœbus, eratque
Læta dies populi consona pectoribus.
Ast ubi jam mediam celebris pervenit in urbem,
Tota statim æthereis pompa rigatur aquis.
Nulla tamen Phœbi subduxit lumina nubes,
Et minima nimbus perstitit ille mora.
Res bene contra æstus cecidit, rem sive quis ipsam
Spectet, sive omnem, non potuit melius.

Principibus nostris uberrima tempora spondent,
Et Phœbus radiis, et Jovis uxor aquis.

EJUSDEM, AD REGEM.

Cuncta Plato cecinit tempus quæ proferat ullum,
Sæpe fuisse olim, sæpe aliquando fore.
Ver fugit ut celeri, celerique revertitur anno,
Bruma pari ut spatio quæ fuit ante, redit :
Sic inquit rapidi, post longa volumina cœli
Cuncta per innumeras sunt reditura vices.
Aurea prima sata est ætas, argentea post hanc,
Ærea post illam, ferrea nuper erat.
Aurea te Princeps redierunt Principe secla.
O possit vates hactenus esse Plato.

EJUSDEM, AD REGEM, DE SPECTACULIS EQUESTRIBUS PER EUM EDITIS, EPODON IAMBICUM.

Quæcunque reges ediderunt hactenus
Equestrium spectacula,
Lugubris illa semper aliqua reddidit
Vel calamitas insignia :
Vel casus aliquis prospero parum Jove,
Admixtus inter ludicra :
Aut rabido transverberati militis
Madens harena sanguine :
Aut lanceis icta, ungulisve sonipedum
Obtrita plebs ferocium :
Turbamve comprimens simul miserrimam
Lapsæ ruina machinæ.
Verum tua hæc spectacula ô Rex omnium
Quæ vidimus pulcherrima
Non ulla clades, sed tua digna indole
Insignit innocentia.

EJUSDEM, DE UTRAQUE ROSA IN UNUM COALITA.

Purpureæ vicina fuit rosa candida, utramque
Utraque dum certant, sit prior utra, premit.
Utraque sed florem rosa jam coalescit in unum,
Quoque potest uno lis cadit illa modo.
Nunc rosa consurgit, nunc pullulat una; sed omnes
Una habet hæc dotes, quas habuere duæ.
Scilicet huîc uni species, decor, atque venustas,
Et color, et virtus, est utriusque rosæ.
Alterutram ergo rosam vel solam quisquis amavit,
Hanc in qua nunc est, quicquid amavit amet.
At qui tam ferus est, ut non amet, ille timebit,
Nempe etiam spinas flos habet iste suas.

IN RHETOREM INDOCTUM. E GRÆCO.

Quinque solœcismis donavi rhetora Flaccum,
Quinque statim decies reddidit ille mihi.
Nunc numero hos, inquit, paucos contentus habeto,
Mensura accipies quando redibo Cypro.

IN SUSPICIONEM. E GRÆCO.

Magnam habet in rebus vim ac pondus opinio. Non vis
Lædere, velle tamen si videare, peris.
Sic et Philoleon quondam occidêre Crotonæ,
Quem falso credunt velle tyrannum agere.

IN RHETOREM INFANTEM SCITE PICTUM. E GRÆCO.

Ipse tacet Sextus, Sexti meditatur imago.
Ipsa est rhetor imago, ab imagine rhetor imago est.

IN CÆCUM ET CLAUDUM, MENDICOS.

Claudipedem gestat cæcis vicinus ocellis,
Conducitque oculos arte, locatque pedes.

ALITER.

Cæcus claudipedem gestat, prudenter uterque
Rem gerit; atque oculos hic locat, ille pedes.

ALITER.

Cæcus fert claudum, atque opera conducit eadem;
Istius ille oculos, illius iste pedes.

ALITER.

Claudum cæcus onus grave, sed tamen utile vectat;
Prospicit atque oculis, huîc regit ille pedes.

IDEM, FUSIUS.

Tristis erat nimium miseris fortuna duobus,
Huîc oculos, illi dempsit iniqua pedes.
Sors illos coplat similis, claudum vehit alter:
Sic sua communi damna levant opera.
Hic pedibus quovis alienis ambulat, itur
Huîc recta alterius semita luminibus.

IDEM, ALITER.

Utilius nihil esse potest, quàm fidus amicus,
Qui tua damna suo leniat officio.
Fœdera contraxere simul mendicus uterque
Cum claudo solidæ cæcus amicitiæ.
Claudo cæcus ait, collo gestabere nostro:
Rettulit hic, oculis cæce regêre meis.
Alta superborum fugitat penetralia regum,
Inque casa concors paupere regnat amor.

ALITER.

Cum claudo cæcus sic lege paciscitur æqua, ut
Hic ferat illum humeris, hunc regat ille oculis.

PINUS NAUTICA LOQUITUR, VENTO SUBVERSA. E GRÆCO.

Pinus ego ventis facile superabilis arbor,
Stulte quid undivagam me facis ergo ratem?
An non augurium metuis? quum persequitur me
In terra, Boream quî fugiam in pelago?

IDEM, ALITER.

Ventis pinus humo sternor, quid mittor in undas?
Jam nunc passa prius quàm nato naufragium.

IN NAVIM EXUSTAM.

Jam ratis æquoreas oneraria fugerat undas,
Matris at in terræ deperiit sinibus.
Corripitur flammis, atque ardens auxiliares
Quas maris hostiles fugerat, optat aquas.

CUNICULA LOQUITUR, QUÆ ELAPSA MUSTELÆ INCIDIT IN DISPOSITA VENATORUM RETIA.

Mustelam obliquo dilapsa foramine fugi,
Sed feror humanos heu misera in laqueos.
Hic ego non vitam celerem, non impetro mortem,
Servor ut heu rabidis objiciar canibus.
Qui mea dum laniant scelerato viscera morsu,
Spectat, et effuso sanguine ridet homo.
O durum genus, atque fera truculentius omni,
Nex cui crudelem præbet acerba jocum.

INNOCENTIAM OBNOXIAM ESSE INJURIÆ. E GRÆCO.

Ausus erit mordere malum vel mus, vetus hoc est
Verbum, sed longè res habet ipsa secus.
Innocuos audet vel mus mordere, nocentem
Tangere non audet territus ipse draco.

IN EFFLATUM VENTRIS. E GRÆCO.

Te crepitus perdit, nimium si ventre retentes :
Te properè emissus servat item crepitus.
Si crepitus servare potest et perdere, nunquid
Terrificis crepitus regibus æqua potest ?

DE MORTIS ÆQUALITATE. E GRÆCO.

Victor ad Herculeas penetres licet usque columnas,
Te terræ cum aliis pars manet æqua tamen.
Iro par moriere, obolo non ditior uno :
Et tua te (sed non jam tua) solvet humus.

IN SORDIDUM. E GRÆCO.

Te ditem appellant omnes, ego planè inopem te.
Nam facit usus opes, testis Apollophanes.
Si tu utare tuis, tua fiunt : sin tua serves
Hæredi, tua jam nunc aliena facis.

VENATUS ARANEÆ.

Insidiata vagam comprendit aranea muscam,
Et lentis trepidam cassibus implicuit :
Jamque hiat in morsum. Sed sæpe os inter et offam,
Ut verbum vetus est, multa venire solent.
Sors muscæ miseretur, et adversatur Arachnæ,
Inque malam è misera transtulit exitium.
En stimulante fame properans invadis utramque
Sturne ; ruunt casses : hæc fugit, illa perit.
Sic misero spes est plerumque secure sub ipsa,
Inter et armatos mille malo metus est.

IN CYNICUM STULTE ABSTINENTEM. E GRÆCO.

Barbati Cynici, baculoque vagantis egeni,
In cœna magnam conspicimus sophiam.

Scilicet hic raphanis Cynicus primùm atque lupino,
Ne virtus ventri serviat, abstinuit.
At niveum postquam bulbum conspexit ocellis,
Jam rigidum et sapiens excutit ingenium :
Flagitat, atque avidè spem præter devorat omnem,
Virtuti bulbus nil, ait, officiet.

EPITAPHIUM MEDICI. E GRÆCO.

Thessalus Hippocrates, Cous genere, hac jacet urna,
Phœbi immortalis semine progenitus.
Crebra trophæa tulit morborum armis medicinæ,
Laus cui magna : nec id sorte, sed arte fuit.

IN SERVUM MORTUUM. E GRÆCO.

Hic servus dum vixit, erat, nunc mortuus idem,
Non quàm tu, Dari magne, minora potest.

IN ANCILLAM MORTUAM.

Antè fuit solo Sosime corpore serva,
Nunc fato pars est hæc quoque missa manu.

IN PISCATOREM ADAMATUM. E GRÆCO.

Pisces dum captat piscator, divitis illum
Nata videt, visi flagrat amore viri :
Deînde viro nubit. Sic illi ex paupere vita,
Magna superbarum copia venit opum.
Muneris hoc nostri est, Venus inquit : verba retorquens
Fortuna, hæc nostri est muneris, inquit hera.

IN REPENTE FELICEM E MISERO. E GRÆCO.

Non tibi quòd faveat, sic te fortuna levavit :
Vel de te liqueat, vult, sibi quid liceat.

IN MEDIOCRITATEM. E GRÆCO.

Invidia est pejor miseratio, Pindarus inquit,
Felici invidiam splendida vita facit.
At nimium miseros miseramur : dent superi ut sim
Nec nimium felix, nec miserandus ego.
Scilicet extremis longè mediocria præstant :
Infima calcantur, summa repentè ruunt.

NIHIL PRODESSE TORQUERI METU MALI VENTURI. E GRÆCO.

Cur patimur stulti ? namque hæc vecordia nostra,
Urat ut indomitus pectora nostra metus.
Seu mala non venient, jam nos metus urit inanis :
Sin venient, aliud fit metus ipse malum.

MONOSTICHUM IN LAUDEM POEMATIS HOMERICI. E GRÆCO.

Ipse quidem cecini, scripsit divinus Homerus.

IN RIDICULUM JUDICIUM. E GRÆCO.

Lis agitur, surdusque reus, surdus fuit actor :
Ipse tamen judex surdus utroque magis.
Pro ædibus hic petit æs, quinto jam mense peracto.
Ille refert, tota nocte mihi acta mola est.
Aspicit hos judex : Et quid contenditis, inquit,
An non utrique est mater ? utrique alite.

AD LUCERNAM NOCTURNAM.

Lychne reversuram ter te juravit amica,
Nec redit, ô pœnas det tibi, si Deus es.
Ludenti cum nocte places, extinguere ; et aufer
Tam sacra tam sacris lumina luminibus.

LAIS ANUS AD SPECULUM. E GRÆCO.

Nequiter arrisi tibi, quæ modò gratia? amantum
Turbam in vestibulis Lais habens juvenum,
Hoc Veneri speculum dico. Nam me cernere talem
Qualis sum nolo, qualis eram nequeo.

IN MORTIS DIEM OMNIBUS INCERTUM.

Non ego quos rapuit mors, defleo, defleo vivos,
Quos urunt longo fata futura metu.

ALIUD.

Fleres, si scires unum tua tempora mensem;
Rides, quum non sit forsitan una dies.

IN APUM INDUSTRIAM. E GRÆCO.

Mellis apes fluvios ipsæ sibi in æthere fingunt,
Ipsæ quos habitant ædificant thalamos.
Grata apis humanæ frugesque facillima vitæ est,
Non bovis, aut curvæ falcis egebit ope.
Tantum opus hic situla est, ubi dulcia pocula mellis
Ubertim parvo fundat ab alveolo.
Congaudete sacræ, varios et pascite flores,
Ætherei volucres nectaris artifices.

IN ANUM FUCIS FRUSTRA UTENTEM.

Sæpe caput tingis, nunquam tinctura senectam,
Aut tensura genis quæ tibi ruga tuis.
Desine jam faciem stibio perfundere totam,
Ne persona tibi hæc sit modò, non facies.
Cum nihil assequeris fuco stibioque, quid amens
Vis tibi? nunquam Hecuben hæc facient Helenen.

IN HOMINIS NATIVITATEM. E GRÆCO.

Heus homo si memor es, quid te dum gigneret egit
Tum pater, ex animo jam tumor ille cadet.
At Plato te fastu dum somniat, inflat inani,
Æternumque vocat semen et æthereum.
Factus es ecce luto, quid suspicis alta ? sed istud
Plasmate, qui te ornat, nobiliore feret.
Quin si vera voles audire, libidine fœda
Natus es è coitu, guttula et è misera.

DE ASTROLOGO RIDICULO.

Non Cumæa sacro vates correpta furore,
Certius afflata mente futura videt :
Quàm meus astrologus divina clarus in arte
Prævidet inspecto sidere præterita.

ALIUD, IN ASTROLOGUM UXORIS IMPUDICÆ MARITUM.

Astra tibi æthereo pandunt sese omnia vati,
Omnibus et quæ sint fata futura, monent.
Omnibus ast uxor quod se tua publicat, id te
Astra, licet videant omnia, nulla monent.

IN EUNDEM, IAMBICUM.

O chare nobis siderum cœlestium
Inspector astris, ipse nunc Phœbus tibi
Optem libenter indicare clanculum
Quiddam, quod ad te pertinens quàm maximè,
Dum cuncta lustro, deprehendi pridie,
Quàm tu redires nuper ex aula domum.
Sed territat Venus, minatur et mihi
Secundum amorem, qui nihilo secundior
Mihi sit futurus, quàm fuit Daphnes prior :
Quicquam cuivis garrulus si deferam
De se marito, quale detuli prius.

Nescibis ergo hoc, cæteras rerum vices
Docebo te. Nuptæ sed in rebus tuæ
Si quid tua non cedat ex sententia,
Hoc omnibus prius patebit, quàm tibi.

ALIUD, IN EUNDEM

Quid inter alta sultè quæris sidera
In humo manentis conjugis mores tuæ ?
Quid alta spectas ? infrà id est cui tu times ?
Dum jam tu, agat quid illa, quæris in polo,
Hæc quæ libebat, interim egit in solo.

ALIUD, IN ASTROLOGUM EUNDEM.

Sidera vestigas inter cœlestia demens
Cur dubia semper mente quid uxor agat ?
Si nescis qualis tibi sit, crede esse pudicam :
Quod tibi persuades, si bene, jam bene habes.
Quid cognoscere vis, quæ non nisi cognita lædunt ?
Quid fieri studio vis miser ipse tuo ?
Hic furor haud dubiè est, quum jam desistere possis :
Quærere sollicitè, quod reperire times.

ALIUD, IN ASTROLOGUM.

Saturnus procul est, jamque olim cæcus, ut aiunt,
Nec propè discernens à puero lapidem.
Luna verecundis formosa incedit ocellis,
Nec nisi virgineum virgo videre potest.
Jupiter Europen, Martem Venus, et Venerem Mars,
Daphnen Sol, Hyrcen Mercurius recolit.
Hinc factum Astrologe est, tua quum capit uxor amantes,
Sidera significent ut nihil inde tibi.

DE FORMA, DILEMMA.

Quid forma confert, Hercules nihil cerno.
Si ferveas, deformis ecce formosa est:
Sin frigeas, formosa jam sit informis.
Quid forma confert, Hercules nihil cerno.

DE ASTROLOGO, DE QUO SUPRA.

Sæpe suam inspectis uxorem Candidus astris,
Prædicat en vates omnibus, esse bonam.
Inspectis iterum, postquam uxor adultera fugit,
Prædicit vates omnibus, esse malam.

PARÆNESIS AD VIRTUTEM VERAM.

Heu miseris quicquid misero blanditur in orbe,
Illicò marcescens, ut rosa verna cadit.
Nec quenquam usque adeò placidis complectitur ulnis
Sors, ut non aliqua parte molesta premat.
Imbibe virtutes, et inania gaudia sperne:
Sunt animi comites gaudia vera boni.

AD CONTEMPTUM HUJUS VITÆ.

Nos velut instabiles ventus quatit omnis aristas:
Quolibet impellunt spes, dolor, ira, metus.
Nil habet in rebus pondus mortalibus ullum,
Momento pudor est, si moveare levi.

MORTEM NON ESSE METUENDAM, CUM SIT FINIS MALORUM. E GRÆCO.

Non stultum est mortem matrem timuisse quietis?
Quam fugiunt morbi, mœstaque pauperies?
Sola semel miseris sese mortalibus offert,
Nec quisquam est ad quem mors iterum rediit.
At reliqui morbi varii, multique vicissim
Nunc hunc, nunc illum, terque quaterque premunt.

IN EPISCOPUM QUENDAM SORDIDUM AC PERPARCUM.

Vita Sibyllinos mea si duraret in annos,
Non bonitas unquam præsulis excideret.
Jugera multa soli locat, amplas possidet urbes,
Centum stipatus progreditur famulis.
Me tamen exigui census, quum nuper adirem,
Excipit, et verè comiter alloquitur.
Quin abiens nigri gustarem ut pocula vini,
E loculo clavem liberat ipse suo.

DE VICISSITUDINE FORTUNÆ. E GRÆCO.

Lubrica non servat certum fortuna tenorem,
Sed rotat instabilem cæca subinde rotam.
Sternere summa libet, libet infima tollere, rerum
Inque vicem nulla vertere lege vices.
Maxima quum bona sunt, jam sunt mala proxima: rursus
Maxima quum mala sunt, proxima jam bona sunt.
Forti animo mala fer, nec bis miser esto dolore:
Ne citò venturis præmoriare bonis.

VITA BREVIS.

Non tibi vivacem furor est spondere senectam,
Quum non sit vitæ certa vel hora tuæ.
Finge age Nestoreum sis perventurus in ævum,
Longa tument multis tempora fœta malis.
Omnia ut effugias viridis quibus angitur ætas,
Tædia longa tibi curva senecta feret.
Tu tamen ad seros (nulli quod contigit) annos
Ut venias nullo percitus antè malo.
Hoc tamen exiguum est, ubi nunc tot Nestoris anni?
Ex tanto superest tempore nulla dies.

PATIENTIA.

Tristia qui pateris, perfer : Sors tristia solvet.
Quòd si non faciat Sors, tibi mors faciet.

VITA IPSA CURSUS AD MORTEM EST.

Nugamur, mortemque procul, procul esse putamus :
At mediis latet hæc abdita visceribus.
Scilicet ex illa, qua primum nascimur hora,
Prorepunt juncto vitaque morsque pede.
Partem aliquam furtim qua se metitur, et ipsam
Surripit è vita quælibet hora tua.
Paulatim morimur, momento extinguimur uno,
Sic oleo lampas deficiente perit.
Ut nihil interimat, tamen ipso in tempore mors est :
Quin nunc, interea dum loquimur, morimur.

DIVES AVARUS PAUPER EST SIBI. E GRÆCO.

Divitias animi solas ego judico veras,
Qui rebus pluris se facit ipse suis.
Hunc adeò ditem, hunc opulentum ritè vocamus,
Magnarum quis sit qui videt usus opum.
Calculus at sit quem miserè numerandus adurit.
Qui miserè semper divitias cumulet :
Hic ut apes parvo crebroque foramine fosso,
Sudat in alveolo, mella alii comedunt.

DILEMMA EPICURI.

Dejiciat miseram tibi nulla molestia mentem.
Si longa est, levis est : si gravis est, brevis est.

CONTRA.

Dejicit heu miseram, prosternit et utraque mentem.
Longa, nec ulla levis : nec gravis, ulla brevis.

DE MORTE.

Somniat, hic ditem qui se putat esse, videtque
Morte experrectus illico quàm sit inops.

SOLA MORS TYRANNICIDA EST.

Duriter es quicunque viris oppressus iniquis,
Spem cape: spes luctus leniat alma tuos.
Versilis in melius vel te Fortuna reponet,
Ut solet excussa nube nitere dies.
Aut libertatis vindex frendente tyranno,
Eruet injecta mors miserata manu.
Auferet hæc (quo plus tibi gratificetur) et illum,
Afferet atque tuos protinus ante pedes.
Ille opibus tantis fastuque elatus inani,
Ille ferox crebris antè satellitibus.
Hic neque torvus erit, vultu nec ut antè superbo,
Sed miser, abjectus, solus, inermis, inops.
O quid vita tibi dedit unquam tale? vicissim
Jam ridendus erit, qui metuendus erat.

CARMEN VERSUM E CANTIONE ANGLICA.

O cor triste malis miserè immersumque profundis
Rumpere: sit pœnæ terminus iste tuæ.
Sanguinolenta tuæ dominæ tua vulnera pande,
Illa brevi est, quæ nos dividet una duos.
Quàm miser ergo diu sic heu lacrymabo, querarque?
Mors ades, et tantis horrida solve malis.

IN AMICAM FŒDIFRAGAM JOCOSUM, VERSUM E CANTIONE ANGLICA.

Dîi melius, venêre mihi hac quæ somnia nocte?
Tota semel mundi machina versa ruit.
Nec sua lux Phœbo constabat, nec sua Phœbe,
Jamque tumens omnem straverat æquor humum.

Majus adhuc mirum, vox en mihi dicere visa est,
Heus tua jam pactam fregit amica fidem.

DE CUNICULO BIS CAPTO.

E rete extrahor, è digitis in rete relabor,
Heu semel heu fugi, bis miser ut caperer.

IN VIRGINEM MORIBUS HAUD VIRGINEIS.

Blanda, salax, petulans, audax, vaga, garrula virgo,
Si virgo est, virgo est, bis quoque quæ peperit.

IN UXORES.

Hoc quisque dicit, rebus in mortalibus
Quod tristius sit, ac magis viros gravet,
Natura nil produxit his uxoribus.
Hoc quisque dicit, dicit: at ducit tamen.
Quin sex sepultis, septimam ducit tamen.

IN EASDEM.

Res uxor gravis est, poterit tamen utilis esse,
Si properè moriens det sua cuncta tibi.

IN IMAGINEM DISSIMILEM. E GRÆCO.

Hæc tua quam nuper pinxit Diodorus imago,
Cujusvis magis est, quàm tua Menodote.

IN EANDEM.

Sic se totum isthac expressit imagine pictor,
Ut nulli tam sit, quàm tibi dissimilis.

CHORIAMBICUM DE VITA SUAVI. E GRÆCO.

Non est cura mihi Gygis,
Qui Rex Sardibus imperat.

Aurum non ego persequor,
Reges non miser æmulor.
Curæ est, barba suavibus
Unguentis mihi perfluat.
Curæ est, ut redolentibus
Cingam tempora floribus.
Curæ sunt hodierna mî,
Nam quis crastina noverit ?
Tornato bene Mulciber
Argento mihi poculum
Jam nunc effice concavum,
Et quantum potes imbibum.
Et fac illud ut ambiant
Non currus, neque sidera,
Orion neque flebilis.
Vites fac virides mihi,
Botri fac mihi rideant
Pulchro cum Dionysio.

IN MEDICUM IMPOSTOREM, QUI GUTTULAM FICTI BALSAMI MAGNO VENDIDIT.

Febre laboranti medicus, feret O tibi certe
Aut nihil, aut tantum balsamus, inquit, opem.
Sed nemo me præter habet, perpaululum et ipse,
Gutta emitur libris non minus una decem.
Nunc mihi quinque dabis, reliquas mihi quinque daturus
Sanus, ut has nunquam te moriente petam.
Nunquam rem facies, tanto in discrimine qui vis
Tam charæ guttæ ponere dimidium.
Pacta placent, minimoque è vitro et sindone tecto,
Jacta petit gladii cuspide gutta merum,
Abluat ut vino mucronem, æger rogat : absit,
Inquit, adhuc libras bis gerit ille decem.
Gutta, ait, una sat est, et erat satis : unica tantum
Gutta potest : unam vix bibit, et moritur.

O nimis adverso contractum sidere pactum,
Hinc gutæ, hinc vitæ dimidium periit.

IN FUCATUM. E GRÆCO.

Tingis capillos fœmina, at quî scis, rogas ?
Nigri fuere, quum referres è foro.

IN IMAGINEM MALE REDDITAM.

Effigie studuit tua in hac ostendere pictor,
Expressisse queat quàm tibi dissimilem.

IN IMAGINEM BENE REDDITAM.

Hac tua tam verè facies expressa tabella,
Ut jam non tabula hæc sit tibi, sed speculum.

IN EANDEM.

Quam mihi monstrasti demiror Posthume pictor,
Effigiem quanta finxerat arte tuam.
Inspicit hanc quisquis, si te conspexerit unquam,
Si non artificis tangitur invidia.
Tam simile hic ovo non esse fatebitur ovum,
Effigies hæc est quàm tibi dissimilis.

IN ANGLUM, GALLICÆ LINGUÆ AFFECTATOREM.

Amicus et sodalis est Lalus mihi,
Britanniaque natus, altusque insula.
At cum Britannos Galliæ cultoribus
Oceanus ingens, lingua, mores dirimant :
Spernit tamen Lalus Britannica omnia,
Miratur, expetitque cuncta Gallica.
Toga superbit ambulans in Gallica,
Amatque multum Gallicas lacernulas.
Zona, locello, atque ense gaudet Gallico,
Filuo, bireto, pileoque Gallico.

Et calceis, et subligare Gallico,
Totoque denique apparatu Gallico.
Nam et unum habet ministrum, eumque Gallicum.
Sed quem (licet velit) nec ipsa Gallia
Tractare quiret plus (opinor) Gallicè,
Stipendii nihil dat, atque id Gallicè.
Vestitque tritis pannulis, et Gallicè hoc.
Alit cibo parvo, et malo, idque Gallicè.
Labore multo exercet, atque hoc Gallicè.
Pugnisque crebro pulsat, idque Gallicè.
In cœtu, et in via, et foro, et frequentia
Rixatur, objurgatque semper Gallicè.
Quid ? Gallicè illud ? imò semigallicè.
Sermonem enim (ni fallor) ille Gallicum
Tam callet omnem, quàm Latinum Psittacus.
Crescit tamen, sibique nimirum placet,
Verbis tribus si quid loquatur Gallicis.
Aut Gallicis si quid nequit vocabulis,
Conatur id, verbis licet non Gallicis,
Canore saltem personare Gallico,
Palato hiante acutulo quodam sono,
Et fœminæ instar garrientis molliter,
Sed ore pleno, tanquam id impleant fabæ,
Balbutiens videlicet suaviter
Pressis quibusdam literis, Galli quibus
Ineptientes abstinent, nihil secus,
Quàm vulpe Gallus, rupibusque navita.
Sic ergo linguam ille et Latinam Gallice,
Et Gallice linguam sonat Britannicam.
Et Gallice linguam refert Lombardicam.
Et Gallice linguam refert Hispanicam.
Et Gallice linguam sonat Germanicam.
Et Gallice omnem, præter unam Gallicam.
Nam Gallicam solam sonat Britannice.
At quisquis insula satus Britannica,

Sic patriam insolens fastidiet suam,
Ut more simiæ laboret fingere,
Et æmulari Gallicas ineptias:
Ex amne Gallo ego hunc opinor ebrium.
Ergo ex Britanno ut Gallus esse nititur,
Sic dii jubete, fiat ex gallo capus.

IN NICOLAUM, MALUM MEDICUM.

Nunc video haud rerum tantum, sed et ipsa virorum
Nomina non temerè, sed ratione dari.
Nicoleus nomen medici est: quî convenit? inquis,
Hoc potius nomen debuit esse ducis.
Dux populos armis vincit: sed et iste venenis
Et populum, et fortes sternit ubique duces.
Sæpe ducem bello repetunt, bis nemo rebellat
Huîc medico: vero est nomine Nicoleus.

IN IMAGINEM ELEGANTEM, SED DEFORMISSIMI.

Ipsam judice me Venerem superabat Apellis,
Hæc tua quæ visa est nuper imago mihi.
Pictor in hanc omnes unam consumpserat artes,
Spectari hac una quid valuit, voluit.
Qualis in ore decor, qui nasus, qualia labra,
O quales oculi, qualis ubique color.
Tam fuit ex omni longe pulcherrima parte,
Quam fuit à nulla parte tibi similis.

IN IMAGINEM DISSIMILEM.

Nuper ut ingredior pictoris forte tabernam,
Effigies oculis est tua visa meis.
Ex te dum pictor sic exprimat omnia, vultum
Immotum credo te tenuisse diu.
Sic te totum inspecta refert: intelligo cuja est,
Protinus ut pictor rettulit esse tuam.

IN PARCUM MORIENTEM.

Chrysalus heu moritur dives, dolet, ingemit: unquam
Nemo magis tristi pectore fata tulit.
Non quoniam ipse perit, cui nil se vilius ipso est,
Sed nummi pereunt quatuor in tumulum.

IN GRAMMATICUM PUTIDUM.

Quum mihi grammaticus mentem subit Heliodorus,
Nostra solœcismos illico lingua timet.

IN PROGNOSTEN RIDICULUM.

Hoc anno in regno rex nobilis ille quiescet
Gallorum, celeber scripserat astrologus.
Rex vix incœpto vita defungitur anno,
Jam nil se vates quo tueatur, habet.
Rem quidam risu cœpit defendere, verum est
Augurium, rex jam nonne quievit? ait.
Latius hoc verbum prorepit, et undique ridens
Id populus, rex jam nonne quievit? ait.
Audit ut in populo hoc vates, jam seriò verum est
Augurium, rex jam nonne quievit? ait.

IN VEHEMENTER NASUTUM. E GRÆCO.

Nunquam Procle manu nares emungere possis:
Nam tua nare manus, magna licet, minor est.
Quando Jovem inclamas sternutans, quippe nec audis:
Tam procul ab nasus prominet aure tuus.

IN POETAM FURIOSUM. E GRÆCO.

Sunt etiam in Musis furiæ, quibus ipse poëta
Fis, per quas temere carmina multa facis.
Ergo age plurima scribe precor: tibi nempe furorem
Non ego majorem quem precer invenio.

IN PERPUSILLUM. E GRÆCO.

Grus ne te rapiat pygmæo sanguine gaudens,
Si sapias, media tutus in urbe mane.

NEGLIGENDI VULGI RUMORES. E GRÆCO.

Tu teipsum oblectes, et vulgi verba loquacis
Sperne: bene hic de te dicet, et ille malè.

IN FATUUM. E GRÆCO.

Quem mordent pulices, extinguit morio lychnum,
Non me, inquit, cernent amplius hi pulices:

DE SOMNO. E GRÆCO. SENTENTIA ARISTOTELIS.

Fermè dimidium vitæ dormitur, in illo
Æquales spacio dives inopsque jacent.
Ergo Crœse tibi regum ditissime, vitæ
Fermè dimidio par erat Irus egens.

ALIUD.

Non es, dum in somno es, dum nec te vivere sentis,
Felix, at somnus ni veniat, miser es.
Qui felix igitur sorte indulgente superbit,
Inflatusque levi prosperitate tumet:
Nox quoties venit, aut toties jam desinit esse
Felix, aut toties incipit esse miser.

QUID INTER TYRANNUM ET PRINCIPEM.

Legitimus immanissimis
Rex hoc tyrannis interest:
Servos tyrannus quos regit,
Rex liberos putat suos.

SOLLICITAM ESSE TYRANNI VITAM.

Magna diem magnis exhaurit cura tyrannis,
Nocte venit requies, si tamen ulla venit.
Nec tamen hi pluma requiescunt mollius ulla,
In dura pauper quam requiescit humo.
Ergo tyranne tibi hæc pars felicissima vitæ est,
In qua mendico par tamen esse velis.

BONUM PRINCIPEM ESSE PATREM NON DOMINUM.

Princeps pius nunquam carebit liberis,
Totius est regni pater.
Princeps abundat ergo felicissimus,
Tot liberis, quot civibus.

DE BONO REGE ET POPULO.

Totum est unus homo regnum, idque cohæret amore :
Rex caput est, populus cætera membra facit.
Rex quot habet cives (dolet ergo perdere quenquam)
Tot numerat partes corporis ipse sui.
Exponit populus sese pro rege, putatque
Quilibet hunc proprii corporis esse caput.

BONA NON COGNOSCI, NISI DUM AMITTUNTUR.

Perdendo bona nostra fere cognoscimus omnes,
Dum possidemus, spernimus.
Sic populo quoque sæpe malus, sed serò benignum
Commendat hæres principem.

TYRANNUM IN SOMNO NIHIL DIFFERRE A PLEBEIO.

Erigit ergo tuas insane superbia cristas,
Quòd flexo curvat se tibi turba genu,
Quòd populus nudo surgat tibi vertice, quòd sit
Multorum in manibus vitaque morsque tuis.

At somnus quoties artus adstringit inertes,
Hæc tua jam toties gloria dic ubi sit?
Tunc ignave jaces trunco non impar inani,
Aut paulo functis ante cadaveribus.
Quod nisi conclusus timide intra tecta lateres,
In cujusque foret jam tua vita manu.

DE PRINCIPE BONO ET MALO.

Quid bonus est princeps? canis est custos gregis, inde
Qui fugat ore lupos; quid malus? ipse lupus.

IN RAPTOREM ET PATRONUM.

Raptam se queritur virgo, crimenque negari
Non potuit; raptor jam periturus erat.
Callidus at subito patronus protrahit ipse
Membrum deducta veste virile rei.
Hoccine virgo tua membrum fuit, inquit, in alvo?
Illa verecundo mota pudore negat.
Vicimus ô judex, clamat patronus, ea ipsa est:
Id negat en sine quo se negat ipsa rapi.

IN FUREM ET PATRONUM.

Dum furti metuit damnari Clepticus, amplo
Non sine consuluit munere causidicum.
Hic ubi sæpe diuque immensa volumina volvit,
Spero, ait, effugies Cleptice, si fugias.

IN ASTROLOGUM QUI FACTUM PRÆDIXIT. E GRÆCO.

Sæpe patri frater quòd debuit esse superstes,
Hoc velut uno omnes astrologi ore canunt.
Ast Hermoclides obiturum præ patre solus
Dixit: sed dixit postquam obiisse videt.

IN HUJUS VITÆ VANITATEM.

Damnati ac morituri in terræ claudimur omnes
Carcere, in hoc mortem carcere nemo fugit.
Carceris in multas describitur area partes,
Inque aliis alii partibus ædificant.
Non aliter quam de regno de carcere certant,
In cæco cupidus carcere condit opes.
Carcere obambulat hic vagus, hic vincitur in antro;
Hic servit, regit hic; hic canit, ille gemit.
Jam quoque dum carcer non tanquam carcer amatur:
Hinc aliis alii mortibus extrahimur.

REGEM NON SATELLITIUM, SED VIRTUS REDDIT TUTUM.

Non timor invisus, non alta palatia regem,
Non compilata plebe tuentur opes.
Non rigidus vili mercabilis ære satelles
Qui sic alterius fiet, ut hujus erat.
Tutus erit populum qui sic regit, utiliorem
Ut populus nullum censeat esse sibi.

POPULUS CONSENTIENS REGNUM DAT ET AUFERT.

Quicunque multis vir viris unus præest,
Hoc debet his quibus præest:
Præesse debet neutiquam diutius,
Hi quàm volent quibus præest.
Quid impotentes principes superbiunt?
Quòd imperant precario?

IN PERPUSILLUM. E GRÆCO.

Ex atomis Epicurus totum fabricat orbem,
Alchime, dum nihil his credidit esse minus.
Ex te fecisset, si tum Diophante fuisses,
Nempe atomis multo es tu Diophante minor.

Aut forte ex atomis jam cætera scriberet esse,
Ast ipsas ex te scriberet esse atomos.

IN AMOREM CASTUM ET INCESTUM. E GRÆCO.

Hi duo destruxere duos, incestus et almus :
Dum contrà occurrunt, hinc amor, inde pudor.
Phrædram amor Hippolyti consumserat igneus, ipsum
Interimitque sacer proh pudor Hippolytum.

IN URBEM ROMAM. E GRÆCO.

Gradivigenus Hector ave, si quid sub humo audis,
Respira, et patriæ nomine cresce tuæ.
Ilios urbs colitur, nunc inclyta gens colit illam,
Quam tu Marte minor, Martis amica tamen.
Myrmidones periere, ades et dic Hector Achilli,
Esse sub Æneadis undique Thessaliam.

DE MEDIOCRITATE. E GRÆCO.

Ingratum est quicquid nimium est ; sic semper amarum est,
Ut verbum vetus est, mel quoque si nimium est.

IN VEHEMENTER INFELICEM. E GRÆCO.

Nunquam vixisti ô pauper, nunquam morieris.
Nempe miser visus vivere mortuus es.
At quibus immensa est fortuna, pecunia multa,
His vitæ finem mors aliquando facit.

IN PYTHAGORÆ ECHEMYTHIAM. E GRÆCO.

Rebus in humanis magna est doctrina tacere,
Testis erit sapiens hic mihi Pythagoras.
Nempe loqui doctus, reliquos docet ille tacere,
Magnum hoc ad requiem pharmacon inveniens.

RIDICULUM, IN GELLIAM.

Quid modo sæclorum miremur monstra priorum,
Quod loquitur taurus, quod cadit imbre lapis?
Monstra antiqua novum superat, surrexerat ecce
Ante tenebrosum Gellia vesper heri.
Plus dicturus eram, nisi me ridere putares:
Surrexit mediam sed tamen ante diem.
Mira licet sæpe, illa tamen videre priores,
Sæpe potest forsan cernere posteritas.
Istud at hesternam nemo unquam viderat ante;
Et post hanc poterit nemo videre diem.

IN PALLADEM VENEREMQUE. E GRÆCO.

Cur ita me lædis Venerem Tritonia virgo,
Corripis in digitos cur mea dona tuos?
Scilicet Idæis memor esto in rupibus olim,
Me, non te, pulchram censuit esse Paris.
Hasta tua est, ensisque tuus: mihi vendico malum,
Mars modo sit malo pristinus ille satis.

VITAM HOMINIS ESSE NIHIL.

Nos tenuem strictis spirantes aëra fibris
Vivimus, et Phœbi lampada conspicimus.
Quotquot vivimus hic, sumus omnes organa, sed quæ
Vivificis animat flatibus aura levis,
Quod tua si tenuem restringat palma vaporem,
Eripiens animam miseris usque stygem.
Sic sumus ergo nihil, Plutoni pascimur omnes,
E flatu minimo nos levis aura fovet.

IN PUGIONEM HEBETEM HEBETIS. E GRÆCO.

Plumbeus hic mucro tuus est obtusus, hebesque,
Mucro aciem ingenii fert tuus iste tui.

DE GLORIA, ET POPULI JUDICIO.

Maxima pars hominum fama sibi plaudit inani,
Atque levis vento fertur in astra levi.
Quid populi tibi voce places? sæpe optima cæcus
Dat vitio, et temerè deteriora probat.
Sollicitus pendes alieno semper ab ore,
Ne laudem cerdo quam dedit, eripiat.
Fors tamen irridet, quo tu laudante superbis:
Ex animo laudet, laus tamen illa fugit.
Quid tibi fama facit? toto lauderis ab orbe,
Articulus doleat, quid tibi fama facit?

RIDICULUM, IN MINISTRUM.

Muscas è cratere tulit conviva priusquàm
Ipse bibit, reddit rursus, ut ipse bibit.
Addidit et causam: muscas ego non amo, dixit,
Sed tamen è vobis nescio num quis amet.

DE CANE VENANTE.

Os canis implet anas, alium capturus hiabat,
Non capit: at quam jam ceperat ore, fugit.
Sic miser interea dum rem captas alienam,
Sæpius et meritò perdis avare tuam.

CANIS IN PRÆSEPI, AVARUS HOMO.

In præsepe canis fœno nec vescitur ipse,
Nec sinit ut fœnum qui cupit edat equus.
Servat avarus opes, opibus non utitur ipse,
Atque alios uti qui cupiunt, prohibet.

IN ORESTEM PARANTEM OCCIDERE MATREM. E GRÆCO.

Qua gladium intrudes, per ventremne, anne papillas?
Te peperit venter, te lactavere papillæ.

QUOD PAUCIS ORANDUS DEUS.

Da bona sive rogere Deus, seu nulla rogere :
Et mala sive rogere nega, seu nulla rogere.

IN DIGAMOS. E GRÆCO.

Qui capit uxorem defuncta uxore secundam,
Naufragus in tumido bis natat ille freto.

DE SOMNO ÆQUANTE PAUPEREM CUM DIVITE.

Somne quies vitæ, spes et solamen egenis,
Divitibus noctu quos facis esse pares.
Tristia demulces Lethæo pectora rore,
Excutis et sensum totius inde mali.
Læta benignus opes inopi per somnia mittis.
Quid falsas rides dives opes inopis ?
Divitibus verè curas, tormenta, dolores,
Pauperibus false gaudia vera ferunt.

IN DEFORMEM ET IMPROBUM. E GRÆCO.

Pingere difficile est animum, depingere corpus,
Hoc facile est : in te sunt tamen ambo secus.
Nam pravos animi mores natura revelans,
Fecit ut emineant undique perspicui.
Sed formæ portenta tuæ deformia membra
Quis pingat ? quando hæc cernere nemo velit ?

IN CAPPADOCEM VIRULENTUM. E GRÆCO.

Vipera Cappadocem mordens mala, protinus hausto
Tabifico periit sanguine Cappadocis.

IN STATUAM FERREAM. E GRÆCO.

Effigiem statuêre tibi rex perditor orbis
Ex ferro, ut longè vilius ære foret.

Hoc fecere fames, cædes, furor, æris egestas,
Hæc tua, quis omnes perdit ? avaritia.

AD CANDIDUM, QUALIS UXOR DELIGENDA.

Jam tempus id petit
Monetque Candide,
Vagis amoribus
Tandem renuncies,
Tandemque desinas
Incerta Cypridis
Sequi cubilia :
Quærasque virginem,
Quam ritè jam tibi
Concorde vincias
Amore conjugem,
Quæ jam genus tuum,
Quo nil beatius,
Fœcunda dulcibus
Natis adaugeat.
Pater tibi tuus
Hoc antè præstitit.
Quod à prioribus
Prius receperis,
Non absque fœnore
Repende posteris.
Non sit tibi tamen
Hæc cura maxima,
Spectare Candide
Quid dotis afferat,
Quàm sitve candida.
Infirmus est amor,
Quem stultus impetus
Decore concitus
Parit, vel improbus
Ardor pecuniæ.
Quicunque amaverit
Propter pecuniam,

Amatur huîc nihil
Præter pecuniam:
Capta pecunia
Vanescit illico,
Item fugax amor,
Fereque jam prius
Perit quàm nascitur.
At nec pecunia,
Quam avarus antea
Miser cupiverat,
Juvare postea
Quicquam potest, ubi
Quam non amaverit
Invitus: attamen
Omnino cogitur
Tenere conjugem.
Quid forma? numquid hæc
Vel febre decidit?
Annisve deperit?
Ut sole flosculus,
Tum defluentibus
Genæ coloribus
Amor, ligaverant
Quem hæc sola vincula,
Solutus aufugit.
At verus est amor,
Quem mente perspicax,
Ratione consule
Prudens iniverit:
Et quem bono omine
Virtutis inclytæ,
(Quæ certa permanens
Non febre decidit,
Annisve deperit)
Respectus efficit.
Primum ergo quam voles
Amice ducere,

Quibus parentibus
Sit orta perspice :
Ut mater optimis
Sit culta moribus,
Cujus tenellula
Mores puellula
Insugat, exprimat.
Tum qua sit indole,
Quàm dulcis, hoc vide;
Ut ore virginis
Insit serenitas,
Ab ore virginis
Absitque torvitas.
At rursus ut tamen
Sit in genis pudor,
Nec ore virginis
Insit procacitas :
Et sit quieta, nec
Cingat salacibus
Viros lacertulis.
Vultu modesta sit,
Nec spectet undique
Vagis ocellulis.
Proculque stulta sit
Parvis labellulis
Semper loquacitas :
Proculque rusticum
Semper silentium.
Sit illa vel modo
Instructa literis,
Vel talis ut modo
Sit apta literis.
Felix, quibus bene
Priscis ab optimis
Possit libellulis
Vitam beantia
Haurire dogmata.

Armata, cum quibus
Nec illa prosperis
Superba turgeat,
Nec illa turbidis :
Misella lugeat
Prostrata casibus.
Jucunda sic erit
Semper, nec unquam erit
Gravis, molestave
Vitæ comes tuæ.
Quæ docta parvulos
Docebit et tuos
Cum lacte literas
Olim nepotulos.
Jam te juvaverit
Viros relinquere,
Doctæque conjugis
Sinu quiescere,
Dum grata te fovet,
Manuque mobili :
Dum plectra personant,
Et voce (qua nec est
Progne sororculæ
Tuæ suavior)
Amœna cantilat,
Apollo quæ velit
Audire carmina.
Jam te juvaverit
Sermone blandulo,
Docto tamen, dies
Noctesque ducere.
Notare verbula
Mellita maximis
Non absque gratiis
Ab ore melleo
Semper fluentia :
Quibus coërceat,

Si quando te levet
Inane gaudium :
Quibus levaverit,
Si quando deprimat
Te mœror anxius :
Certabit in quibus
Summa eloquentia
Jam cum omnium gravi
Rerum scientia.
Talem olim ego putem,
Et vatis Orphei
Fuisse conjugem,
Nec unquam ab inferis
Curasset improbo
Labore fœminam
Referre rusticam.
Talemque credimus
Nasonis inclytam,
Quæ vel patrem queat
Æquare carmine,
Fuisse filiam.
Talemque suspicor
(Qua nulla carior
Unquam fuit patri,
Quo nemo doctior)
Fuisse Tulliam.
Talisque, quæ tulit
Gracchos duos fuit,
Quæ quos tulit, bonis
Instruxit artibus :
Nec profuit minus
Magistra quàm parens.
Quid prisca sæcula
Tandem revolvimus ?
Utcunque rusticum,
Unam tamen tenet
Nostrumque virginem,

Tenet, sed unicam,
At sicut unicam,
Plerisque præferat:
Cuique conferat
Ex his fuisse, quæ
Narrantur omnibus
Tot retrò sæculis,
Quæ nunc et ultimam
Monet Britanniam
Perlata pennulis
Fama volucribus.
Laus atque gloria
Orbis puellula
Totius unica,
Ac non modo suæ
Cassandra patriæ.
Dic ergo Candide,
Si talis et tibi
Puella nuberet,
Quales ego tibi
Suprà recensui:
Desit licet queas
Formam requirere,
Dotisve quod parum
Lucrere conqueri.
Hic sermo verus est,
Quæcunque sit, satis
Est bella quæ placet,
Nec quisquam habet magis,
Quàm qui sibi satis
Quodcunque habet, putat.
Si nunc me amet mea,
Ut nil ego tibi
Amice mentiar.
Cuîcunque gratiam
Formæ negaverit
Natura virgini:

Certè licet si et
Carbone nigrior,
Foret tamen mihi hac
Virtutis indole
Olore pulchrior.
Cuîcunque lubrica
Dotem negaverit
Fortuna virgini:
Certè si et licet
Vel Iro egentior,
Foret tamen mihi hac
Virtutis indole
Te Crœse ditior.

RIDICULUM, IN MINACEM.

Thrasonis uxorem bubulcus rusticus
Absente eo vitiaverat.
Domum reversus miles ut rem comperit,
Armatus et ferus insilit.
Tandem assecutus solum in agris rusticum,
Heus clamat heus heus furcifer.
Restat bubulcus, saxaque in sinum legit,
Ille ense stricto clamitat,
Tu conjugem meam attigisti carnifex?
Respondit imperterritus,
Feci. Fateris? inquit. At ego omnes Deos
Deasque testor ô scelus,
In pectus hunc ensem tibi capulo tenus,
Ni fassus esses, abderem.

DE MEDIOCRITATE. E GRÆCO.

Agros ego haud porrectiores appeto,
Non auream aut Gygis beatitudinem,
Quæ sit satis sibi, vita sat eadem est mihi.
Illud nihil nimis, nimis mihi placet.

HECTOR MORIENS. E GRÆCO.

Projicitote meum Danai post fata cadaver.
Nam metuunt lepores occisi membra leonis.

IN STULTUM POETAM.

Scripserat Æneam nulli pietate secundum,
Vates secundus nemini.
Quidam igitur regem dum vult laudare, Maronem
Pulchrè æmulatus scilicet,
Hic, hic est, inquit, princeps cui nemo secundus.
Hac laude rex indignus est,
Ipse sed est vates dignissimus : ergo age demus
Utrique laudem debitam.
Hic, hic est igitur vates, cui nemo secundus,
Rex qui secundus nemini.

IN QUENDAM QUI SCRIPSERAT HYMNOS DE DIVIS, PARUM DOCTE, TESTATUS IN PRÆFATIONE, SE EX TEMPORE SCRIPSISSE, NEC SERVASSE LEGES CARMINUM, ET ARGUMENTUM NON RECIPERE ELOQUENTIAM.

Hic sacer Andreæ cunctos ex ordine fastos
Perstringit mira cum brevitate liber.
Ipsos quos cecinit superos, dum scriberet omnes,
Credibile est vati consuluisse suo.
Non subitò scripsit, sed sic, ut scribere posset
Quantumvis longo tempore non melius.
Et pia materia est priscisque intactus ab ipsis,
Servatus fato est huîc operi iste stylus :
Seque quòd ad numeros non anxius obligat omnes,
Hoc quoque non vitio, sed ratione facit.
Majestas operis metro esse obnoxia non vult,
Nempe ibi libertas est, ubi spiritus est.

Ipsa operis pietas indocto sufficit : at tu
Castalio quisquis fonte bibisse soles,
Singula si trutines, erit hinc tibi tanta voluptas,
Quanta tibi ex alio non fuit antè libro.

IN STRATOPHONTA PUGILEM IGNAVUM. E GRÆCO.

Dux Ithacus patria bis denos abfuit annos,
Quum rediit, celeri cognitus usque cani est.
Te pugil O Stratophon, certantem quatuor horas,
Et canis et populus dedidicere simul.
Quin etiam speculum de te si consulis ipse,
Juratus Stratophon te Stratophonta neges.

IN PUGILEM IGNAVUM. E GRÆCO.

Nesimus ecce pugil vatem consultat Olympum,
An ventura sibi sera senecta foret.
Fors rude donatus vives, ait ille : minatur
Certanti gelidus sed tibi falce Deus.

IN PARASITUM. E GRÆCO.

Stare putes stadio Eutichydes quum curreret, at quum
Curreret ad cœnam, nempe volare putes.

IN BIBONEM. E GRÆCO.

Serta, unguenta, meo ne gratificare sepulchro,
Vina, focus, lapidi sumptus inanis erit.
Hæc mihi da vivo ; cineres miscere falerno,
Nempe lutum facere est, non dare vina mihi.

IN BIBONEM. E GRÆCO.

E terra genitus, sub terram morte recondar :
Ergo lagena mihi terrea plena veni.

IN MULIEREM FŒDAM. E GRÆCO.

Te speculum fallit; speculum nam Gellia verum
Si semel inspiceres, nunquam iterum inspiceres.

IN FŒDAM. E GRÆCO.

Fugerit ad Parthos, vel ad Herculis usque columnas,
Visa semel, positis vestibus, Antipatra.

IN FŒDAM. E GRÆCO.

Qui miser uxorem deformem duxit, habebit
Vespere, jam accenso lumine, adhuc tenebras.

IN BARBA TANTUM PHILOSOPHUM. E GRÆCO.

Si promissa facit sapientem barba, quid obstat,
Barbatus possit quin caper esse Plato?

DE LICENTIA.

Ultra concessos indulta licentia fines
Provehitur celeri, non revocanda, gradu.
Si patiare, pedem calcet tibi vespere conjux,
Calcabit surgens hæc tibi mane caput.

EPITAPHIUM ABYNGDONII CANTORIS.

Attrahat huc oculos, aures attraxerat olim
Nobilis Henricus cantor Abyngdonius.
Unus erat, nuper mira qui voce sonaret,
Organa qui scitè tangeret, unus erat.
Vellensis primo templi decus, inde sacellum
Rex illo voluit nobilitare suum.
Nunc illum regi rapuit Deus, intulit astris,
Ipsis ut nova sit gloria cœlitibus.

ALTERUM DE EODEM.

Hic jacet Henricus, semper pietatis amicus,
Nomen Abyngdon erat, si quis sua nomina quærat.
Uvellis hic ecclesia fuerat succentor in alma,
Regis et in bella cantor fuit ipse capella.
Millibus in mille cantor fuit optimus ille,
Præter et hæc ista, fuit optimus orgaquenista.
Nunc igitur Christe quoniam tibi serviit iste
Semper in orbe soli, da sibi regna poli.

IN JANUM HÆREDEM ABYNGDONII.

Scripsi elegum carmen, Jano me hærede rogante,
Quod tumulum Henrici signet Abyngdonii.
Displicet, et doctis benc displicuisset. At illi
Displicet hoc tantum, si quid inest melius.
Non resonant isti versus, ait. Illicò sensi,
Quales lactucas talia labra petant.
Ridendos ergo ridens effutio versus.
Hos vorat applaudens Janus utraque manu.
Hos tumulo insculpsit, sub eundem protinus obdi,
Atque iisdem dignus versibus, ipse legi.
Antè retroque bifrons Janus Deus omnia vidit,
Talpa, effrons videt hic Janus utrinque nihil.

AD AULICUM.

Sæpe mihi jactas faciles te ad principis aures
Libere et arbitrio ludere sæpe tuo.
Sic inter domitos sine noxa sæpe leones
Luditur, ac noxæ non sine sæpe metu.
Infremit incerta crebra indignatio causa,
Et subito mors est, qui modo ludus erat.
Tuta tibi non est, ut sic secura voluptas:
Magna tibi est, mihi sit, dummodo certa minor.

IN TYNDALUM DEBITOREM.

Ante meos quàm credideram tibi Tyndale nummos,
Quum libuit, licuit te mihi sæpe frui.
At nunc si tibi me fors angulus offerat ullus,
Haud secus ac viso, qui pavet, angue, fugis.
Non fuit unquam animus, mihi crede, reposcere nummos:
Non fuit: at ne te perdere cogar, erit.
Perdere te salvo nummos volo, perdere utrumque
Nolo, sat alterutrum sit periisse mihi.
Ergo tibi nummis, aut te mihi redde, retentis:
Aut tu cum nummis te mihi redde meis.
Quod tibi si neutrum placeat, nummi mihi saltem
Fac redeant: at tu non rediture, vale.

IN MENDICUM GERENTEM SE PRO MEDICO.

Tu te fers medicum, nos te plus esse fatemur,
Una tibi plus est litera, quàm medico.

IN UXOREM IMPUDICAM.

Est fœcunda mei, fœcunda est uxor Arati,
Nempe suo genuit ter sine fœta viro.

IN PERPUSILLUM. E GRÆCO.

Ut fugeret miseræ Diophantus tædia vitæ,
Usus Arachneo est stamine pro laqueo.

DE PUELLA, QUÆ RAPTUM FINXIT.

Conspiceret solam juvenis cum fortè puellam,
Et sibi oportunum crederet esse locum.
Improbus invitam cupidis amplectitur ulnis,
Basiaque et plus quàm basia ferre parat.
Illa reluctata est, legemque irata minatur,
Qua miser, effuso sanguine, raptor obit.

Institit ille tamen juvenili ardore protervus,
Nunc precibus satagit, nunc superare metu.
Non precibus, non illa metu superata reclamat,
Calce petit, mordet dente, manuque ferit.
Ira subit juvenem jam penè libidine major,
Et ferus, O demens siccine pergis ? ait.
Per tibi ego hunc ensem juro, simul extulit ensem,
Commoda ni jaceas, ac taceas, abeo.
Illico succubuit tam tristi territa verbo :
Atque age, sed quod agis, vi tamen, inquit, agis.

IN CHRYSALUM.

Chrysalus in sylvis loculos quum conderet, hæsit,
Certa loci possent quæ sibi signa capi.
At super ut summa raucum videt arbore corvum,
Hic mihi conspicua est, inquit, abitque, nota.
Capti sola scopi redeuntem copia lusit :
Nam sua jam in quavis arbore signa videt.

IN ASTROLOGUM.

Dum tua quos noster celebrat pro vatibus error,
Fata cient positu sideris astrologi :
Hæc dum stella favet, dumque hæc tibi stella minatur,
Pendula mens iuter spemque metumque tua est.
Prospera seu venient, venient reticentibus illis,
Assolet et subitum lætius esse bonum.
Seu venient adversa, diu nescire juvabit,
Usura et medii temporis usque frui.
Quin jubeo fatis etiam prohibentibus ipsis,
Fac tibi mens hilares transigat æqua dies.

IN CRUCE DIGNUM. E GRÆCO.

Mastauron elementa tibi duo subtrahe prima,
Nemo te reliquis dignior esse potest.

E GRÆCO.

Fortis erat bello Timocritus, hic jacet ergo,
Fortibus haud parcis Mars fere, sed timidis.

E GRÆCO.

Ista Neoclidæ gnatos habet urna gemellos :
Servitio hic patriam liberat, hic vitio.

AD QUENDAM CUI UXOR MALA DOMI.

Uxor amice tibi est semper mala : quum malè tracta
Fit pejor : sed fit pessima, quando bene.
Sed bona si moriatur erit, melior tamen id si
Te faciat vivo : ast optima, si propere.

DE NAUTIS EJICIENTIBUS MONACHUM IN TEMPESTATE, CUI FUERANT CONFESSI.

Cum tumida horrisonis insurgeret unda procellis,
Et maris in lassam ferveret ira ratem,
Relligio timidis illabitur anxia nautis,
Heu parat, exclamant, hoc mala vita malum.
Vectores inter monachus fuit, hujus in aurem
Se properant vitiis exonerare suis.
Ast ubi senserunt nihilo sibi mitius æquor,
Sed rapido puppim vix superesse freto,
Quid miri est, ait unus, aqua si vix ratis extat,
Nostrorum scelerum pondere adhuc premitur.
Quin monachum hunc, in quem culpas exhausimus omnes,
Ejicite, et secum hinc crimina nostra ferat.
Dicta probant, rapiuntque virum, simul in mare torquent,
Et lintrem levius quàm prius îsse ferunt.
Hinc, hinc quàm gravis est peccati sarcina, disce,
Cujus non potuit pondera ferre ratis.

AD CANDIDUM, PAROCHUM VITÆ IMPROBÆ.

Factus es ô populi pastor mi Candide magni:
Ter tibi, terque tuo gratulor ergo gregi.
Aut mihi judicium minuit favor, aut tuus usquam
Non potuit talem grex habuisse patrem.
Non tibi vanarum est fastosa scientia rerum,
Quippe nec in populum est utilis illa tuum.
At raræ tibi sunt virtutes, sic tibi raros
Patribus ex priscis credo fuisse pares.
Quid faciant fugiantve tui, quo cernere possint,
Vita potest claro pro speculo esse tua.
Tantum opus admonitu est, ut te intucantur, et ut tu
Quæ facis, hæc fugiant: quæ fugis, hæc faciant.

E GRÆCO.

Naufragus hac situs est, jacet illa rusticus urna,
Ad styga sive solo par via, sive salo.

IN POSTHUMUM EPISCOPUM.

Præsul es, et merito præfectus Posthume sacris,
Quo magis in toto non erat orbe sacer.
Gaudeo tam magnum, tam sanctum gaudeo munus,
Tandem non temerè nunc, velut ante dari.
Nempe errare solet temerarius impetus: at te
Delectum magna sedulitate patet.
Namque ubi de multis tantummodo sumitur unus,
Sæpe malus casu, pessimus arte venit.
At te, de multis legitur si millibus unus,
Stultior haud possit, deteriorve legi.

DE BOLLANO.

Urticis lectum Bollano urentibus omnem
Insternunt socii, quum cubiturus erat.

Se tamen urticis ustum negat, haud negat illas
In tenebris nudum se reperisse tamen.
Unguibus aut igitur vitata carne necesse est,
Aut nudis tantùm dentibus inciderint.
Cum tamen in tenebris illæsus repperit herbas,
Urticas quanam repperit esse nota?

DE VULPE ÆGROTA ET LEONE, APOLOGUS.

Dum jacet angusta vulpes ægrota caverna,
Ante fores blando constitit ore leo:
Ecquid amica vales? citò me lambente valebis,
Nescis in lingua vis mihi quanta mea.
Lingua tibi medica est, vulpes ait: at nocet illud,
Vicinos quòd habet tam bona lingua malos.

DE LEONE ET LYSIMACHO.

Dum domitus placido leo lamberet ore magistrum,
Provocat exemplo quemlibet ipse suo.
Cumque diu ex tanta prodiret nemo corona,
Prosiliit forti pectore Lysimachus.
Ipse, ait, audebo linguam tetigisse leonis,
Sed tam vicinis dentibus haud faciam.

IN FABIANUM ASTROLOGUM.

Uno multa die de rebus fata futuris,
Credula quum de te turba frequenter emat.
Inter multa unum si fors mendacia verum est,
Illico vis vatem te Fabiane putem.
At tu de rebus semper mentire futuris,
Si potes hoc, vatem te Fabiane putem.

IN REGEM SCOTIÆ, QUI ARCEM NORHAMAM PRODITAM SIBI TAMEN OPPUGNAVIT, DISSIMULANS PRODITAM ESSE.

Scote quid oppugnas Norhamam viribus arcem ?
Antè tibi falsa proditione datam.
Artibus ergo malis capta fuit arce voluptas
Magna tibi forsan, sed brevis illa fuit.
Teque, tuisque mala (merita sed) morte peremptis,
Ars intra est paucos capta, recepta dies.
Proditor inque tuo peteret cum præmia regno,
Mors sceleri est merces reddita digna suo.
Proditor ut pereat, pereat cui proditur hostis,
Invicta in fatis arx habet ista suis.

EPITAPHIUM JACOBI REGIS SCOTORUM.

Scotorum Jacobus princeps, regno hostis amico,
Fortis et infelix hac ego condor humo.
Quanta animi fuerat, fidei vis tanta fuisset :
Cætera contigerant non inhonesta mihi.
Sed pudet heu jactare, queri piget : ergo tacebo,
Garrulaque O utinam fama tacere velis.
Vos tamen O reges moneo, rex nuper et ipse,
Ne sit (ut esse solet) nomen inane fides.

IN MALUM PICTOREM.

Exprimit egregia pictor mirabilis arte,
Dira canis pavitans ut fugit ora lepus.
Intima naturæ scrutatus viscera fingit,
In cursu leporem retro metu aspicere.
Tam bene qui leporem fugientem expresserit, opto,
Sit lepus, et fugiens ipse retro aspiciat.

IN EUNDEM.

Cum cane sic pictus lepus est, ut dicere nemo
Esset uterve canis, posset, uterve lepus:
Pictor ubi hoc didicit, quod inerti defuit arti,
Supplevit miro callidus ingenio.
Res ut aperta foret, longeque facesseret error.
Subscripsit tantum, est hic canis, iste lepus.

DE TYNDARO.

Non minimo insignem naso dum fortè puellam
Basiat, en voluit Tyndarus esse dicax.
Frustra ait ergo tuis mea profero labra labellis,
Nostra procul nasus distinet ora tuus.
Protinus erubuit, tacitaque incanduit ira,
Nempe parum salso tacta puella sale.
Nasus ab ore meus tua si tenet oscula, dixit,
Qua nasus non est, hac dare parte potes.

IN GERMANUM BRIXIUM FALSA SCRIBENTEM DE CHORDIGERA NAVE GALLORUM, ET HERVEO EJUS DUCE.

Hervea dum celebras Brixi, tua carmina damnas,
Nam tibi scripta mala est res bene gesta fide.
Historiam spondes illa Germane poesi,
Quæ modò quum non sit vera, nec historia est.
Aut odio incipiant, aut indulgere favori,
Et quisnam historiis qui modò credat, erit?
Jamque nec ipse tuus per te laudem Herveus ullam
Sublata rerum possit habere fide.

IN EUNDEM, DE EODEM HERVEO ET EADEM NAVE, QUÆ IN PUGNA NAVALI CONFLAGRAVIT.

Brixius immerita quòd sustulit Hervea laude,
Quòd merito adversum fraudat honore ducem.

Quòd de Chordigera mendacia mille carina
Contrà quàm sese res habuere, canat :
Non equidem miror, neque pravo falsa favore,
Quod voluit prudens scribere, credo tamen.
Sed de Chordigera, vatem qui vera doceret,
Quivit adhuc reducem nemo referre pedem.
Ipse tamen (sciret quo certius omnia) dignus,
Qui media præsens nave fuisset, erat.

VERSUS EXCERPTI E CHORDIGERA BRIXII, AD QUOS ALLUDUNT QUÆDAM EPIGRAMMATA SEQUENTIA.

Circumeunt unum dextra, lævaque Britanni
Hervea, tela volant brumali grandine plura
In caput unius Hervei : quæ fortiter heros
Excutiens clypeo, contraria in agmina vertit.

POSTEA DE EADEM CHORDIGERA.

Ipse suos Herveus comites hortatur, et instat,
Atque inter primos audax magno impete in hostes
Invehitur, ferit hos misso per tempora telo,
Transigit huîc gladio costas, huîc ilia nudat,
Decutit his caput impacta per colla bipenni,
His latus, his humeros hasta præstringit acuta.

EPIGRAMMA MORI, ALLUDENS AD VERSUS SUPERIORES.

Quod ferit hos Herveus misso per tempora telo,
Iliaque et costas transigit huîc gladio,
Decutit his caput impacta per colla bipenni,
His humeros hasta perforat atque latus :
Tum clypeo adversa quòd tela volantia parte
Fortiter excutiens unde volant, regerit.
Effugit hoc sensum, tot telis pugnet ut unus,
Isque cui clypeo est altera onusta manus.
Fortis huic pugnæ rerum natura repugnat,
Præteritum quiddam est hac puto parte tibi.

Namque ubi magnanimum produxeris Hervea, telis
Pugnantem pariter quattuor, et clypeo,
Fortè tibi exciderat : sed debuit antè moneri
Lector, tunc Herveo quinque fuisse manus.

ALIUD, DE EODEM.

Miraris clypeum, gladium, hastam, tela, bipennem,
Herveus quoque gerat belligeretque modo.
Dextera crudeli manus est armata bipenni,
Instructa est gladio sæva sinistra suo.
Jam telum, telique vicem quæ præbeat, hastam
Fortiter (impressis dentibus) ore tenet.
At quia tela caput brumali grandine plura
Involitant, clypeum collocat in capite.
Duritia capitis draco cesserit, ungue Celæno,
Sic elephas illi dentibus impar erat.
Ergo novum adversos monstrum procurrit in hostes,
Terribilis rictu, terribilisque manu.

HIC PRIMUS VERSUS BRIXII EST, QUO HERVEA JAM MORITURUM DE SE FACIT VATICINANTEM.

Inter Phœbeos non aspernandus alumnos,
Hervei magna canit Brixius acta ducis.
Inter Phœbeos non aspernandus alumnos,
Herveum, hostes, socios, concremat atque rates.
Inter Phœbeos non aspernandus alumnos :
Unde igitur vates, quæ cecinit, didicit ?
Inter Phœbeos non aspernandus alumnos,
Phœbeo reliquum est audiat ex tripode.

IN EUNDEM, VERSUS POETARUM SUFFURANTEM.

Priscos poetas nemo te colit magis,
Legitve diligentius.
Nam nemo priscis è poetis omnibus
Est, cujus ipse ex versibus,

Non hinc et inde flosculos et gemmulas
Manu capaci legeris,
Vatem redonans tanto honore protinus,
Scriptis tuis ut inseras.
Beasque vatem : nempe quæ tu congeris,
Suos parentes indicant,
Magisque resplendent tua inter carmina,
Quàm nocte lucent sidera.
Tantum decus vati invidere neminî
Soles, amicus omnium,
Ne quis, decus prioris olim seculi,
Neglectus abs te defleat.
Ergo sacrati ne poetarum modi
Longo situ obsolescerent,
Injuria tu vindicatos temporis
Novo nitore percolis.
Hoc est vetustis arte novitatem dare,
Qua re nihil felicius.
Ars O beata, quisquis arte isthac tamen
Vetusta novitati dabit,
Is arte nulla (quamlibet sudet diu)
Novis vetustatem dabit.

ALLUSIO AD CENOTAPHIUM HERVEI.

Hervea cum Decïis unum conferre duobus,
Ætas te Brixi judice nostra potest.
Sed tamen hoc distant, illi quòd sponte peribant,
Hic periit, quoniam non potuit fugere.

PHOEBUS BRIXIUM ALLOQUITUR.

Vis de grandisono quid sentio scire libello,
Qui arma, necemque Hervei bellipotentis habet ?
Ergo sacer Phœbo sacra hæc oracula vates
Accipe, Phœbæo reddita de tripode.

Una opere in toto deest syllaba, mille supersunt.
Plenum opus est: nam quid posset abesse minus?
Una uno hæc legitur, sed non legitur tibi mense,
Mens. Et plus quàm medium syllaba mensis habet.

IN BRIXIUM POETAM.

Brixi tale tuo natum est ænigma libello,
A Sphinge opponi possit ut Oedipodi.
Chordigera est tibi tota frequens, tibi non tamen usquam est
Cor. Cordigeræ in toto syllaba prima libro.

AD SABINUM, CUI UXOR ABSENTI CONCEPIT.

Subsidium vitæ, seræ spes una senectæ,
Nata tibi est soboles, curre Sabine domum.
Curre, salutanda est uxor fœcunda, videnda est
Chara tibi soboles, curre Sabine domum.
Curre, inquam, ac propera, nimiumque videbere lentus,
Quantumvis properes, curre Sabine domum.
Jam queritur conjux de te tua, jam tua de te
Conqueritur soboles, curre Sabine domum.
Nunquam ingratus ades, neque cum soboles tibi nata est,
Sed neque cum genita est, curre Sabine domum.
Curre ut adesse, puer sacro dum fonte lavatur,
Nunc saltem possis, curre Sabine domum.

AD CANDIDUM LAUDANTEM SANCTOS VIROS, CUM IPSE ESSET MALUS.

Sæpe bonos laudas, imitaris Candide nunquam:
Laudo, inquis, posita Candidus invidia.
Nam quicunque bonos imitatur, et æmulus idem est.
O lacte, ô nivibus Candide candidior.

QUIS OPTIMUS REIPUB. STATUS.

Quæris uter melius, rexne imperet, anne senatus
Neuter (quod sæpe est) si sit uterque malus.
Sin sit uterque bonus, numero præstare senatum,
Inque bonis multis plus reor esse boni.
Difficile est numerum forsan reperire bonorum,
Sic facile est unum sæpius esse malum.
Et fuerit medius sæpe inter utrumque senatus:
Sed tibi vix unquam rex mediocris erit.
Consilioque malus regitur meliore senator,
Rex consultores sed regit ipse suos.
Alter ut eligitur populo, sic nascitur alter:
Sors hic cæca regit, certum ibi consilium.
Illeque se factum populo, populum sibi factum,
Scilicet hic ut sint quos regat ipse putat.
Rex est in primo semper blandissimus anno,
Omni anno consul rex erit ergo novus.
Rex cupidus longo populum corroserit ævo,
Si consul malus est, spes melioris adest.
Nec me nota movet, quæ pastam fabula muscam
Ferre jubet, subeat ne malè pransa locum.
Fallitur, expleri regem qui credit avarum,
Nunquam hæc non vacuam mittet hirudo cutem.
At patrum consulta gravis dissensio turbat,
Regi dissentit nemo: malum hoc gravius.
Nam quum de magnis varia est sententia rebus,
Quæstio sed tamen hæc nascitur unde tibi?
Estne usquam populus, cui regem sive senatum
Præficere arbitrio tu potes ipse tuo?
Si potes hoc, regnas: nec jam cui, consule, tradas
Imperium: prior est quæstio, an expediat.

DE FUSCO POTORE.

Potando medicus perituros dixit ocellos
Fusco, qui cùm se consuluisset, ait:

Perdere dulcius est potando, quàm ut mea servem
Erodenda pigris lumina vermiculis.

AD AMICUM.

Littera nostra, tuis quantum mihi colligo scriptis,
Sera tibi veniet, nec tibi sera tamen.
Nec bello veniunt intempestiva peracto,
Quæ bello poterant tela juvare nihil.

DE REGE ET RUSTICO.

Rusticus in sylvis nutritus venit in urbem,
Rusticior Fauno, rusticior Satyro.
En populus plena stetit hinc, stetit inde platea,
Unaque vox tota, rex venit, urbe fuit.
Rusticus insolita vocis novitate movetur,
Quidnam ita respectet turba, videre cupit.
Rex subitò invehitur, celebri præeunte caterva,
Aureus excelso conspiciendus equo.
Tum verò ingeminant, vivat rex : undique regem
Attonito populus suspicit ore suum.
Rusticus, ô ubi rex ? ubi rex est ? clamat : at unus,
Ille, ait, est illo qui sedet altus equo.
Hiccine rex ? puto me derides, rusticus inquit,
Ille mihi picta veste videtur homo.

IN EPISCOPUM ILLITERATUM, DE QUO ANTE EPIGRAMMA EST SUB NOMINE POSTHUMI.

Magne pater clamas, occidit littera, in ore
Hoc unum, occidit littera, semper habes.
Cavisti bene tu, ne te ulla occidere possit
Littera, non ulla est littera nota tibi.
Nec frustra metuis ne occidat littera, scis non
Vivificet qui te spiritus esse tibi.

DE SACERDOTE RIDICULE ADMONENTE POPULUM DE JEJUNIO, CUM DIES JAM PRÆTERISSET.

Admonuit populum noster cum fortè sacerdos,
Proxima quos fastos afferat hebdomada :
Martyris Andreæ magnum et memorabile festum est,
Scitis, ait, carus quàm fuit ille Deo.
Squalida lascivam tenuent jejunia carnem,
Hoc suetum est, sancti hoc instituere patres.
Præmoneo ergo omneis, in martyris hujus honorem,
Quòd jejunari debuit, inquit, heri.

DE QUODAM MALE CANTANTE, ET BENE LEGENTE.

Tam malè cantasti, possis ut episcopus esse,
Tam bene legisti, ut non tamen esse queas.
Non satis esse putet, si quis vitabit utrumvis,
Sed fieri si vis præsul, utrumque cave.

AD SABINUM.

Quos antè conjux quattuor
Natos Sabine protulit,
Multum ecce dissimiles tibi,
Tuos nec ipse deputas.
Sed quem tibi puellulum
Enixa jam nuperrimè est,
Solum tibi simillimum
Pro quattuor complecteris.
Adulterinos quattuor
Vocas, repellis, abdicas.
Hunc unicum ceu γνήσιον,
Qui sit tibi hæres, destinas.
Hunc ergo in ulnis gestiens,
Exosculandum ab omnibus,
Ut filium fert simia,
Totam per urbem bajulas.
Atqui graves tradunt Sophi,

Quibus labor studiumque, id est,
Secreta quicquid efficit
Natura perscrutarier.
Ergo graves tradunt Sophi,
Quodcunque matres interim
Imaginantur fortiter,
Dum liberis datur opera,
Ejus latenter et notas,
Certas et indelebiles,
Modoque inexplicabili
In semen ipsum congeri :
Quibus receptis intimè,
Simulque concrescentibus,
A mente matris insitam
Natus refert imaginem.
Quum tot abesses millibus.
Dum gignit uxor quattuor,
Quòd esset admodum tui
Secura, dissimiles parit.
Sed unus omnium hic puer
Tui refert imaginem,
Quòd mater, hunc dum concipit,
Sollicita de te plurimùm,
Te tota cogitaverat,
Dum pertimescit anxia,
Ne tu Sabine incommodus
Velutque lupus in fabulam
Supervenires interim.

DE PRINCIPE ET RUSTICO SELANDO, RIDICULUM.

Quum spectaret aquas princeps, in ponte resedit,
Primoresque suos ante stetere pedes,
Rusticus adsedit, modico tamen intervallo,
Civilemque dato se putat esse loco.
Suscitat hunc quidam, et cum principe, dixit, eodem
Ponte sedere audes rustice ? nonne pudet ?

Ille refert, scelus est in eodem ponte sedere?
Quid si pons longus millia dena foret?

DE AULICO, RIDICULUM.

Quum descendit equo, de circumstantibus uni
Aulicus hunc teneas quisquis es, inquit, equum.
Ille, ut erat pavidus, dixit: Domine ergo ferocem
Hunc rogo qui teneat, sufficit unus, equum?
Unus ait potis est retinere, subintulit ille:
Si potis est unus, tu potes ipse tuum.

IN MILITEM FUGACEM, ET ANNULATUM.

Aureus iste manus miles cur annulus ornat,
Jure tuos ornet qui meliore pedes?
Utilior nuper, meliorque in Marte feroci
Planta tibi palmis una duabus erat.

IN TUSCUM POTOREM.

Perdis ait Tusco medicus tua lumina vino,
Consultat secum quid velit ergo sequi.
Sidera, terra fretumque solent quæcunque videri,
Omnia sunt, inquit, visa revisa mihi.
Multa mihi, sed vina tamen gustanda supersunt,
Multa refert annus, quum nova musta novus.
Jam certus firmusque valebitis, inquit, ocelli,
Nempe satis vidi, non satis usque bibi.

IN ARNUM PERJURUM.

Jurasti satis Arne diu, tandem obtinuisti,
Jurare ut posthac jam tibi non sit opus.
Cœpit ubique tuo vir juratissime verbo,
Quàm juramento non minor esse fides.

IN EUNDEM.

Et semper juras, et cunctis Arne minaris,
Vis scire utilitas quæ venit inde tibi ?
Sic juras, ut nemo tibi jam denique credat :
Sic minitaris, ut has nemo minas metuat.

IN EUNDEM.

Arno nemo magis pedibus valet usque, sed olim
Frigore contractas perdidit ille manus.
Optat bella tamen cui pes citus, utraque manca est
Cuî manus in bello, scis puto, quid faciet.
At cui lingua procax, manus est ignava, procax est
Huîc non ignava lingua secanda manu.

DE MARULLO.

Admonuit medicus lippum Theodore Marullum,
Ne vinum, cæcus ni velit esse, bibat.
Pareat ut medico (quanquam ægrè) abstemius esse
Ecce duos totos sustinet usque dies.
Post sitit assueti revocatus imagine vini,
Jamque foràs medico vera minante ruit.
Ventùm erat ad vinum, quum sic sua lumina mœstus
Affatur, posito jam peritura mero.
Huc iter est, huc me fidi duxistis ocelli,
Nunc bibite, et dulces ambo valete duces.
Gustus odorque manent, miratur abire colorem,
In nigras abeunt lumina dum tenebras.
Hoc tamen adversum lenit solamine casum,
Dote meri minima quòd cariturus erat.

IN RISCUM EQUITEM IMBELLEM.

Riscus eques prudens, longoque peritus ab usu,
Dissimiles, causa non sine, pascit equos.

Namque alit ille duos, volucrem præverterit alter,
Alter sed pigro pigrior est asino.
Hic ergo non festinantem ad prælia defert,
Ille prius tuba quàm clanxerit, inde refert.

IN GELLIAM.

Mentitur qui te dicit mea Gellia fuscam :
Judice me non es Gellia fusca, nigra es.

IN EANDEM.

Candida sum, dicis, fateor, sed candida quum sis,
Cur tibi candorem hunc obtegit atra cutis ?

IN EUPARIPHUM VESTE, OPPIGNORATO FUNDO, EMPTA.

Non miror sudare tuæ te pondere vestis,
Quattuor hæc terræ jugera vestis habet.
Quantum viventi tibi terræ ingesseris usquam,
Tam magnum tumulum, nec tumulatus habet.

IN GAREMANUM, VENDITIS AGRIS PAUPEREM.

En patrios nuper Garemanus vendidit agros,
Nunc subitò fama vivere fertur inops.
Non illi ingenium, non illi industria defit :
Verùm inimica viro fata nocere puto.
Nam putres fulvo glebas mutaverat auro
Callidus, et nunquam rem tamen ille facit.

AD SABINUM.

Interîêre duæ, conjux tibi tertia nupsit,
Nec tibi fida tamen de tribus ulla fuit.
Non tantum ergo tuas, sed damnas improbe totum
Fœmineum irata mente Sabine genus.
Si tamen hanc æqua rem vis expendere lance,
Fies erga ipsas mitior ipse tuas.

Nam tres quum fuerint iisdem tibi moribus omnes,
Astra hæc nascenti fata dedere tibi.
Si genesis tua te semper jubet esse cuculum,
Scilicet expectas uxor ut astra regat?
Casta futura alii fuerat: quòd adultera tecum est,
Hoc meritò fatis imputat illa tuis.

IN NAUFRAGUM MORSUM A VIPERA IN LITTORE. E GRÆCO.

Æquoris insanas evasit naufragus undas,
Tristius Afra salo præbet arena solum.
Dum jacet ecce gravi pressus prope littora somno
Nudus, et infesto fessus ab usque freto:
Vipera trux perimit: frustra fugis æquora frustra,
Heu miser in terris debita fata tibi.

DE CHIRURGO ET ANU.

Unxit anus ægros velans chirurgus ocellos,
Utile persuadens hoc fore quinque dies.
Interea mappas, pelves, mortaria, discos,
Quicquid onus tutum non facit, inde rapit.
Quum sanata oculos circumtulit illa revinctos,
Instrumenta suæ sentit abesse domus.
Mercedem ergo exacta, tua contingeret, inquit,
Uberior pactum est ut mihi visus ope.
At video nunc quam antè minus quorum usus in æde est:
Vidi multa prius, nunc video inde nihil.

AD QUENDAM LEVEM.

Quàm tibi mens levis est, tibi si pes tam levis esset,
In medio leporem posses prævertere campo.

DE HERODE ET HERODIADE.

Coram Herode Herodiadis dum filia saltat,
Dum quo debuerat displicuisse placet,

Ebrius affectu rex conjugis, ebrius illo
Fortunæ luxu, prætereaque mero:
Opta ait ô virgo, dabitur, juravimus, hujus
Dimidium regni poscere si libeat,
Impia suggestu sceleratæ filia matris,
Inquit: Baptistæ da precor ergo caput.
Dona petis virgo (si saltatricula virgo est)
Quæ vix sustineas cernere dona petis.
O funesta parens, ô natæ dira noverca,
Saltare, atque homines quam jugulare doces.
Rex dolet, et tristis concedit, nempe coactus
Jurisjurandi relligione sui.
O regem fidum, sed tunc tantummodo fidum,
Majus perfidia est quum scelus, ipsa fides.

AD QUENDAM EBRIOSUM.

Tecum in colloquium quòd non properantius ivi,
Segniciem incusas, conquererisque meam.
Confiteor verè, tibi non in tempore veni,
Serior aut citior debuit hora legi.
Aut utinam ejusdem venissem mane diei,
Aut tibi venissem mane sequente die.
Nunc res luce nimis tractari cœpit adulta,
Quando tua factum est ebrietate nihil.

IN PICTURAM HERODIANÆ MENSÆ.

Sanguine funesta est Herodis mensa virili,
Sanguine funesta est mensaque Flaminii.
Tam similes cædes similes fecere puellæ,
Illam saltatrix obtinet, hanc meretrix.
Id tamen intererat, meretrici vita nocentis,
At saltatrici penditur innocui.

IN EANDEM PICTURAM.

Ora viri fœdo sancti fluitantia tabo,
Decussumque gerit regia mensa caput.
Corpora sic regi rex Atreus ambo Thyesti
Natorum apposuit frater edenda patri.
Sic regi Odrysio natum regina peremptum
Fida soror, genitrix perfida ponit Itym.
Talia regales ornant bellaria mensas:
Crede mihi, non est pauperis iste cibus.

IN VEHEMENTER NASUTUM. E GRÆCO.

Si tuus ad solem statuatur nasus, hiante
Ore, bene ostendas dentibus, hora quota est.

IN FUCATUM. E GRÆCO.

Cur emitur fucus, coma, dens, mel, ceraque: posset
Quum persona tibi tota minoris emi?

IN HISTRIONEM. E GRÆCO.

Cætera ad historiam, quiddam tamen, id quoque magnum,
Jam tibi saltatum contra erat historiam.
Dum Nioben ageres, stabas tanquam lapis esses:
Quum fieres Canapeus, ecce repentè cadis.
At Canacem gladio referens, quum vivus abisti,
Hoc tibi saltatum contra erat historiam.

IN HISTRIONEM. E GRÆCO.

Saltavit Nioben, saltavit Daphnida Memphis:
Ligneus ut Daphnen, saxeus ut Nioben.

SOBRIOS ESSE DIFFICILIORES. E GRÆCO.

Vespere quum bibimus, homines sumus atque benigni :
Mane homini siccus trux fera surgit homo.

IN ANDREAM IN MARE VOMENTEM.

Gratus es Andrea, dignusque cui bene fiat,
Nam pisces toties qui te pavêre, repascis.

DE EODEM.

Æquoris edisti pisces, irascitur æquor :
Eque tuo fœtus exigit ore suos.

IN PUELLAM DIVARICATIS TIBIIS EQUITANTEM.

Ergo puella viri quis te negat esse capacem,
Quum tua tam magnum circumdant crura caballum ?

AD GALLUM SUBLEGENTEM VETERUM CARMINA.

Vatibus idem animusque, et verè spiritus idem,
Qui fuit antiquis, est modò Galle tibi.
Carmina namque eadem, versusque frequenter eosdem,
Quos fecere illi, tu quoque Galle facis.

IN SCURRAM PAUPEREM.

Scurra ubi jam fures totam sibi nocte videret
Scrutantes magna sedulitate domum :
Risit, et ô media quid vos hic nocte videtis ?
Miror, ait, media nil ego cerno die.

DE SOLICITA POTENTUM VITA.

Semper habet miseras immensa potentia curas,
Anxia perpetuis sollicitudinibus.

Non prodit multis nisi circumseptus ab armis,
Non nisi gustato vescitur antè cibo.
Tutamenta quidem sunt hæc : tamen hæc male tutum
Illum, aliter tutus qui nequit esse, docent.
Nempe satellitium metuendos admonet enses :
Toxica prægustaus esse timenda docet.
Ergo timore locus quisnam vacat hic ? ubi gignunt,
Hæc eadem pellunt, quæ metuenda, metum.

IN PRIVIGNUM, COLLAPSA NOVERCÆ STATUA OPPRESSUM. E GRÆCO.

Flore novercalem cingis privigne columnam,
Morte ratus mores interiisse malos.
Te tamen illa premit subitò inclinata : novercæ,
Si privigne sapis, ipsa sepulchra, fuge.

AD QUENDAM POETAM EXTEMPORALEM.

Hos quid te scripsisse mones ex tempore versus ?
Nam liber hoc loquitur, te reticente, tuus.

IN NOVERCAS. E GRÆCO.

Privigno vel amans infortunata noverca est :
Hippolyto gravis hoc Phædra docere potest.

IN QUENDAM QUI DICEBAT, CARMINIBUS SUIS NON DEFUTURUM GENIUM.

Hoc habet Hispani festivum epigramma poetæ,
Victurus genium debet habere liber.
Dum legis hunc versum, jam tu quoque scribere versus
Tota mente paras, sed sine mente tamen.
Quæve canas, qualive modo contemnis : ea est spes,
Victura hæc genio qualiacunque suo.
Nàmque tuis genium vir tam geniose Camœnis,
Non dubitas aliquem mox alicunde fore.

Tu tamen (et cariturus erit) tuus hic liber, optæ
Ut careat genio, qui caret ingenio.
Cui genius vitam producat si quis, erit quis
Ex geniis, adsunt qui tibi mille, malis.
Sed neque sic vivet, vati si credis eidem,
Nam non vivere, sed vita, valere bene, est.
Quòd si vita libri est jugi languescere probro,
Detur et æterna vivere morte tibi.

DE CUPIDITATE REGNANDI.

Regibus è multis regnum cui sufficit unum,
Vix rex unus erit, si tamen unus erit.
Regibus è multis regnum bene qui regat unum,
Vix tamen unus erit, si tamen unus erit.

DE DEDITIONE NERVIÆ HENRICO VIII. ANGLIÆ REGI.

Belliger invictam domuit te Nervia Cæsar,
Non tamen extremis absque utriusque malis.
Te capit Henricus, capit et sine sanguine, princeps
Magno tam major Cæsare quàm melior.
Sensit honorificum sibi rex cepisse tibique,
Utile sensisti non minus ipsa capi.

DE FABULLA ET ATTALO.

Fabulla nuper nescio quid Attalo
Irata, et illum commovere gestiens,
Ostendereque quàm prorsus hunc nihili putet,
Juravit illi, si sibi centum forent
Membra mulier quibus fit, è centum tamen
Præstare dignaretur haud unum Attalo.
Non inquit ille? quæ, malum, est isthæc nova
Frugalitas tibi? quæve parsimonia?
Certè solebas esse liberalior.
Unum ne de centum gravareris modò

Avara commodare? at aliquando unicum
Tantum quum haberes, unicum tamen viris
Centum solebas dare benigna centies.
Heu metuo ne quid ista portendat tibi
Monstrosa tandem parcitas, magni mali.

DE FEBRICITANTE, ET MEDICO BIBACI.

Febre laboraret mihi quum puer hemitritæo,
Fortè ibi Sauromatæ posco medentis opem.
Sensit ut admoto salientem pollice venam,
Fortis, ait, calor est, sed calor ille cadet.
Flagitat ergo cyphum, fundumque exhaurit ad imum,
Quantum nec Bitias ebibiturus erat.
Haurit, ad æquales ægrotum provocat haustus,
Et facere hoc temerè ne videatur, ait:
Æstuat hic valde, valde bibat ergo necesse est,
Non parvo obruitur magna liquore pyra.

DE HESPERO CONFITENTE.

Ex more sacro dum sacerdoti Hesperus
Commissa fassus expiaret crimina,
Explorat hujus ille conscientiam,
Et cautus omne examinat scelerum genus:
Interque multa quærit, an unquam malos
Ritu prophano crediderat in dæmonas.
Vah ego ne credam in dæmones, inquit, pater,
Multo labore vix adhuc credo in Deum.

DE OCCASIONE DEO. E GRÆCO.

Unde erat hic plastes? Sicyonius. At quis erat? dic.
Lysippus. Tu quis? tempus ego omne domans.
Cur summis instas digitis? roto semper. At alas
Cur pedibus gestas? ut levis aura feror.

At dextram cur armat acuta novacula ? signum est,
Quòd conferri acies non potis ulla mihi est.
Cur coma fronte jacet ? quòd qui me prendere captat,
Præveniat. Calvum est cur tibi retrò caput ?
Quòd postquam levibus præceps effugero pennis,
Nil aget à tergo qui revocare volet.
Unde igitur posses documentum sumere, talem
Artificis posuit me tibi docta manus.

DE PHYLLIDE ET PRISCO, IMPARITER AMANTIBUS.

Tam Phyllis cupido bene nubet candida Prisco,
Quàm bene spumanti vitrea lympha mero.
Phyllida Priscus amat calido ferventius igne,
Frigidius gelida Priscus amatur aqua.
Jungetur tutò, nam si simul ardeat illa,
Sustineat flammas quæ domus una duas ?

DE NUMMIS ANTIQUIS APUD HIERONYMUM BUSLIDIANUM SERVATIS.

Roma suis olim ducibus quàm debuit, illi
Tam debent omnes Buslidiane tibi.
Roma suis ducibus servata est : ipse reservas
Romanos Roma præmoriente duces.
Nam quæ cæsareos antiqua numismata vultus,
Aut referunt claros tumve priusve viros ;
Hæc tu sæclorum studio quæsita priorum
Congeris, et solas has tibi ducis opes.
Cumque triumphales densus cinis occulat arcus,
Ipse triumphantum nomen et ora tenes.
Nec jam Pyramides procerum monumenta suorum
Tam sunt, quàm pyxis Buslidiane tua.

AD EUNDEM.

Ecquid adhuc placidam mi Buslidiane Camœnam
Tua coerces capsula ?

In tenebras abdis cur dignam luce, quid illi ?
Quid invides mortalibus ?
Musæ fama tuæ toto debetur ab orbe,
Quid huîc repellis gloriam ?
Gratus ab hac fructus toti debetur et orbi,
Quid unus obstas omnibus ?
An tibi casta procul cœtu cohibenda virili
Cohors videtur virginum ?
Sunt hæc virginibus fateor metuenda, sed illis
Devirginari quæ queunt.
Æde tuam intrepidus, pudor est inflexilis illi,
Nec ille rudis, vel rusticus.
Ut tua non ipsi cessura est virgo Dianæ,
Pudore grata lacteo :
Sic tua non ipsi cessura est Virgo Minervæ,
Sensu, lepôre, gratia.

AD BUSLIDIANUM DE ÆDIBUS MAGNIFICIS MECHLINIÆ.

Culta modò fixis dum contemplabor ocellis
Ornamenta tuæ, Buslidiane, domus ;
Obstupui, quonam exoratis carmine fatis
Tot rursus veteres nactus es artifices ?
Nam reor illustres vafris ambagibus ædes,
Non nisi Dædaleas ædificasse manus.
Quod pictum est illic, pinxisse videtur Apelles :
Quod sculptum, credas esse Myronis opus.
Plastica quum video, Lysippi suspicor artem :
Quum statuas, doctum cogito Praxitelem.
Disticha quodque notant opus, at quæ disticha vellet,
Si non composuit, composuisse Maro.
Organa tam varias modulis imitantia voces,
Sola tamen veteres vel potuisse negem.
Ergo domus tota est vel sæcli nobile prisci,
Aut quod prisca novum sæcula vincat, opus.

At domus hæc nova nunc, tardè seroque senescat,
Tunc videat dominum, nec tamen usque, senem.

DE PHILOMENO ET AGNA, CONJUGATIS MALA FIDE.

En redeunt nostro Veneris miracula sæclo,
Qualia nec prisco tempore facta reor ;
Flos juvenes inter Philomenus, et Agna puellas,
Junguntur Paphiæ ritè favore Deæ.
Ille sed heu nimium laudata voce superbit,
Illa tumet placidi laudibus ingenii.
Ergo conjugium votis tam sæpe petitum,
Non Veneri acceptum, sed retulere sibi.
Ingratis adimit formam Dea, neve coirent
Mutati, dispar indit utrique genus.
Mox Philomenus avem quavis æstate canentem
In cuculum : inque avidam vertitur Agna lupam.

MEDICINÆ AD TOLLENDOS FŒTORES ANHELITUS, PROVENIENTES A CIBIS QUIBUSDAM.

Sectile ne tetros porrum tibi spiret odores,
Protinus a porro fac mihi cepe vores.
Denuò fœtorem si vis depellere cepæ,
Hoc facile efficient allia mansa tibi.
Spiritus at si post etiam gravis allia restat,
Aut nihil, aut tantum tollere merda potest.

AD LECTOREM DE NOVO TESTAMENTO, VERSO AB ERASMO ROTERODAMO.

Sanctum opus, et docti labor immortalis Erasmi
Prodit, et ô populis commoda quanta vehit!
Lex nova nam veteri primum est interprete læsa,
Scribentum varia post vitiata manu.
Sustulerat forsan mendas Hieronymus olim,
Sed periere pigro tam bona scripta situ

Tota igitur demptis versa est jam denuò mendis,
Atque nova Christi lex nova luce nitet.
Nec tamen ambitiose singula verba notavit,
Sanctum habuit quicquid vel mediocre fuit.
Quo fit ut hæc celeri si quis prætervolet ala,
Huîc nihil hic magni fortè putetur agi.
Idem si presso relegat vestigia gressu,
Censebit majus commodiusve nihil.

AD REVERENDISSIMUM THOMAM CARDINALEM ET ARCHI-EPISCOPUM EBORACENSEM, IN LIBRUM NOVI TESTAMENTI, EI AB ERASMO DATUM.

Unice doctorum pater ac patrone virorum,
Pieridum pendet cujus ab ore chorus,
Cuî populus quantum defert et cedit honore,
Virtutes infra est tantum honor ipse tuas.
Ab liber iste tuo longè tibi venit Erasmo,
Hunc precor hoc animo quo dedit ipse, cape.
Nec dubito, capies : operi nam jure favorem
Autor, et autori conciliabit opus.
Ille tui cultor semper fuit, est opus ipsum
Lex Christi, studium quæ fuit usque tuum.
Illa paratur ab hac prudens tibi lege facultas,
Qua Momo coram reddere jura potes.
Namque ita perplexas populo mirante querelas
Discutis, ut victus non queat ipse queri.
Non humana tibi facit hoc sollertia, sed lex
Christi, judiciis unica norma tuis.
Ergo opus hoc placido præsul dignissime vultu
Excipe, et autori, quod facis, usque fave.

AD REVERENDISSIMUM ARCHI-EPISCOPUM CANTUARIENSEM.

Quod bene sunt collata tuo pie præsul Erasmo
Tanta tua toties munera prompta manu,

Quàm non ducat iners quæ tu facis otia, monstrant
Multa, sed in primis indicat illud opus.
Ediderit quamvis numerosa volumina, fructu
Non sine, vincit opus cuncta priora novum.
Cunctorum utilitas, sed honor te est inter et illum :
Præstitit ille operam, tu bone præsul opem.
At partem ille suam toto tibi pectore cedit,
Quicquid agit, meritis imputat omne tuis.
Hunc petit ille sui fructum pater alme laboris,
Charus ut hoc tu sis omnibus, ille tibi.

EPITAPHIUM IN SEPULCHRO JOHANNÆ, OLIM UXORIS MORI, DESTINANTIS IDEM SEPULCHRUM ET SIBI ET ALICIÆ, POSTERIORI UXORI.

Chara Thomæ jacet hoc Johanna uxorcula Mori,
Qui tumulum Aliciæ hunc destino, quique mihi.
Una mihi dedit hoc conjuncta virentibus annis,
Me vocet ut puer et trina puella patrem.
Altera privignis (quæ gloria rara noverœ est)
Tam pia, quam gnatis vix fuit ulla suis.
Altera sic mecum vixit, sic altera vivit,
Charior incertum est, hæc sit, an hæc fuerit.
O simul, ô juncti poteramus vivere nos tres
Quàm bene, si fatum relligioque sinant.
At societ tumulus, societ nos obsecro cœlum.
Sic mors, non potuit quod dare vita, dabit.

AD SE GESTIENTEM LÆTITIA, QUOD EVASERAT TEMPESTATEM.

Quid juvat insanas maris evasisse procellas ?
Lætitia est, ut non sit tibi vana, brevis.
Talis febre quies ægris intermicat, illa
Dum per acerba statas itque reditque vices.
Quàm te plura manent optata tristia terra,
In rapido fuerant quàm subeunda freto ?

Aut ferrum, aut varii præcedent funera morbi,
Quorum uno est quovis mors minus ipsa gravis.
Quin eadem tumidas frustra vitata per undas,
Te premet in plumis insidiosa tamen.

IN PINGUEM QUENDAM PATREM, CUI FREQUENS ERAT IN ORE, SCIENTIA INFLAT.

Quemlibet inflat ais vel teste scientia Paulo,
Hanc fugis : unde igitur tu pater ample tumes ?
Vix gestas crasso turgentem abdomine ventrem,
Inflaturque levi mens tibi stultitia.

IN CHELONUM.

Cur adeò invisum est pigri tibi nomen aselli ?
Olim erat hoc magnus Chelone philosophus.
Ne tamen ipse nihil differre puteris ab illo,
Aureus ille fuit, plumbeus ipse magis.
Illi mens hominis asinino in corpore mansit :
At tibi in humano est corpore mens asini.

DE FELE ET MURE.

Muscipula exemptum feli dum porrigo murem,
Haud avido prædam protinus ore vorat.
Sed trepidum in media captivum exponere terra
Sustinet, et miris ludere læta modis.
Adnutat cauda, tremulis inspectat ocellis,
Et lasciva caput jactat in omne latus.
Molliter attonitum pede suscitat ire parantem,
Corripit, inque vicem datque negatque viam.
Mox pede sublimem jaculatur, et excipit ore,
Deînde abit, et falsæ spem facit usque fugæ.
Excubat, et saltu fugientem læta reprendit
Protinus, inque locum quo fuga cœpta redit.
Digrediturque iterum, mirandoque improba sensu
Quæ misero mens est experimenta capit.

Hoc dum sæpe facit, securaque longius exit,
Mus rimam subitò repperit et subiit.
Illa cito revocata gradu frustra obsidet antrum,
Hic latebra tectus tutus ab hoste fuit.
Muscipula occiderat, nisi quòd tutela salusque
Feles, interitus quæ solet esse, fuit.

GRATULATUR, QUOD EAM REPERERIT INCOLUMEM, QUAM OLIM FERME PUER AMAVERAT.

Vivis adhuc, primis ô me mihi charior annis,
Redderis atque oculis Elisabetha meis.
Quæ mala distinuit mihi te fortuna tot annos,
Penè puer vidi penè reviso senex.
Annos vita quater mihi quattuor egerat, inde
Aut duo defuerant, aut duo penè tibi.
Quum tuus innocuo rapuit me vultus amore,
Vultus, qui quo nunc fugit ab ore tuo !
Cum quondam dilecta mihi succurrit imago,
Hei facies quàm nil illius ista refert.
Tempora quæ, teneræ nunquam non invida formæ,
Te rapuere tibi, non rapuere mihi.
Ille decor nostros toties remoratus ocellos,
Nunc tenet à vultu pectora nostra tuo.
Languidus admoto solet ignis crescere flatu,
Frigidus obruerat quem suus antè cinis.
Tuque facis quamvis longè diversa priori,
Ut micet admonitu flamma vetusta novo.
Jam subit illa dies quæ ludentem obtulit olim
Inter virgineos te mihi prima choros.
Lactea cum flavi decuerunt colla capilli,
Cum gena par nivibus visa, labella rosis.
Cùm tua perstringunt oculos duo sidera nostros,
Perque oculos intrant in mea corda meos.
Cum velut attactu stupefactus fulminis hæsi
Pendulus à vultu tempora longa tuo.

Cum sociis risum exhibuit nostrisque tuisque
Tam rudis et simplex et male tectus amor.
Sic tua me cepit species : seu maxima verè,
Seu major visa est quàm fuit, esse mihi :
Seu fuit in causa primæ lanugo juventæ,
Cumque nova suetus pube venire calor :
Sidera seu quædam nostro communia natu
Viribus afflarant utraque corda suis.
Namque tui consors arcani conscia pectus
Garrula prodiderat concaluisse tuum.
Hinc datus est custos, ipsisque potentior astris
Janua, quos vellent illa coire vetat.
Ergo ita disjunctos diversaque fata secutos,
Tot nunc post hyemes reddidit ista dies.
Ista dies qua rara meo mihi lætior ævo,
Contigit occursu sospitis alma tui.
Tu prædata meos olim sine crimine sensus,
Nunc quoque non ullo crimine chara manes.
Castus amor fuerat, ne nunc incestior esset,
Si minus hoc probitas, ipsa dies faceret.
At superos, qui lustra boni post quinque valentem
Te retulere mihi, me retulere tibi,
Comprecor, ut lustris iterum post quinque peractis
Incolumis rursus contuar incolumem.

THOMAS MORUS MARGARETÆ, ELISABETHÆ, CECILIÆ, AC JOANNI, DULCISSIMIS LIBERIS S. P.

Quattuor una meos invisat epistola natos,
Servet et incolumes à patre missa salus.
Dum peragratur iter, pluvioque madescimus imbre,
Dumque luto implicitus sæpius hæret equus :
Hoc tamen interea vobis excogito carmen,
Quod gratum, quanquam sit rude, spero fore.
Collegisse animi licet hinc documenta paterni,
Quanto plus oculis vos amet ipse suis :

Quem non putre solum, quem non male turbidus aêr,
Exiguusque altas trans equus actus aquas,
A vobis poterant divellere, quo minus omni
Se memorem vestri comprobet esse loco.
Nam crebrò dum nutat equus, casumque minatur,
Condere non versus desinit ille tamen :
Carmina quæ multis vacuo vix pectore manant,
Sollicito patrius ritè ministrat amor.
Non adeò mirum si vos ego pectore toto
Complector, nam non est genuisse nihil.
Provida conjunxit soboli natura parentem,
Atque animus nodo colligat Herculeo.
Inde mihi teneræ est illa indulgentia mentis,
Vos tam sæpe meo sueta fovere sinu.
Inde est vos ego quòd soleo pavisse placenta,
Mitia cum pulchris et dare mala piris.
Inde quòd et serum textis ornare solebam,
Quòd nunquam potui vos ego flere pati.
Scitis enim quàm crebra dedi oscula, verbera rara,
Flagrum pavonis non nisi cauda fuit,
Hanc tamen admovi timideque et molliter ipsam,
Ne vibex teneras signet amara nates.
Ah ferus est, dicique pater non ille meretur,
Qui lachrymas nati non fleat ipse sui.
Nescio quid faciant alii, sed vos bene scitis
Ingenium quàm sit molle piumque mihi.
Semper enim quos progenui vehementer amavi,
Et facilis (debet quod pater esse) fui.
At nunc tanta meo moles accrevit amori,
Ut mihi jam videor, vos nec amasse prius.
Hoc faciunt mores puerili ætate seniles,
Artibus hoc faciunt pectora culta bonis :
Hoc facit eloquio formatæ gratia linguæ,
Pensaque tam certo singula verba modo.
Hæc mea tam miro pertentant pectora motu,
Astringuntque meis nunc ita pignoribus :

Ut jam quod genui, quæ patribus unica multis
Causa est, adfectus sit propè nulla mei.
Ergo natorum carissima turba meorum,
Pergite vos vestro conciliare patri.
Et quibus effectum est vobis virtutibus istud,
Ut mihi jam videar vos nec amasse prius.
Efficitote (potestis enim) virtutibus iisdem,
Ut posthac videar vos nec amare modò.

EXCUSAT, QUOD DUM LOQUERETUR CUM EXIMIO QUODAM PATRE, NOBILEM QUANDAM MATRONAM INGRESSAM THALAMUM, ATQUE ALIQUANDIU COLLOQUENTIBUS ILLIS ADSTANTEM, NON ANIMADVERTERAT.

Quum tua dignata est bonitas me visere nuper,
Atque humilem, præsul magne, subire casam:
Interea dum verba seris tam dulcia mecum,
Penderem ut vultu totus ab ipse tuo:
Ecce (quod ah mihi sero mei retulere ministri,
Nempe ubi tot res est acta diebus) heri
Matrona ingreditur, cultu spectanda superbo,
Sed quem forma tamen vicit, et hanc probitas:
Venit in usque thorum, stetit et mihi tempore longo
Proxima, contingens et cubito cubitum.
Inspicit antiquæ selecta numismata formæ,
Claraque tam claris gaudet imaginibus.
Sumere dignatur tenuis bellaria mensæ,
Venit et à dulci dulcior ore sapor.
Nostra nec in tantum vertuntur lumina lumen,
O mihi plus ipso nate stupore stupor.
Nunc ignosco mei quòd non monuere ministri,
Tam stupidum certè nemo putavit herum.
Oh oculos, longè qui prospexisse solebant,
Si qua refudisset tale puella jubar.
An senui? torpentque meo mihi corpore sensus?
Surgenti an genius mane sinister erat?

An tu, ne nisi te quicquam sentire valerem,
Surpueras lepido me mihi colloquio ?
Arte lyraque feras in se converterat Orpheus,
In te mellifluis vertor et ipse sonis.
Sed tuus intentat magnum lepor iste periclum,
Neglectam sese ne putet illa mihi.
Hospita ne limis quum tam propè staret, ocellis
Vidisse, et visam dissimulasse ferar.
At vel hiulca prius mihi terra dehisceret optem,
Quàm sit in hoc animo tam fera barbaries,
Ut si quando, leves veluti mihi missa per auras,
In thalamum penetret candida nympha meum,
Non saltem aspiciam (si plura licere negetur)
Quaque licet memet candidus insinuem.
Ut miserum est non posse loqui ? nam cuncta fatetur,
Qui sermonis inops nulla negare potest.
Nunc mihi sermonis quia non est copia Galli,
Quæ sola est dominæ patria lingua meæ,
Omnibus absolvar, non excusabimur uni,
Judice qua, causa statque caditque mea.
Vulnus ab Æmonia qui quondam pertulit hasta,
Rursus ab Æmonia est cuspide nactus opem.
Dedecus hoc lepidæ quoniam peperere fabellæ,
Quum dominæ et mihi me surripuere tuæ :
Dedecus hoc lepidæ debent purgare fabellæ,
Meque meæ dominæ conciliare tuæ.

VERSUS SUMPTI EX ANTIMORO BRIXII, AD QUOS ALLUDIT EPIGRAMMA QUOD SUBJUNGITUR.

Hæc mihi dictanti adstabant diræ auribus omnes,
Et furiæ infernis concita turba vadis.
Alecto, et sacris caput irretita colubris,
Tisiphone, et terrens ore Megæra truci.

MORUS.

Brixius audivit postquam id reprehendere multos,
Quod falsa tantum scriberet.
Corrigere ut possit vitium hoc, aliquid modo visum est,
Verum quod esset, edere :
Quod foret indubium, quod verum nemo negaret,
Authore quanquam Brixio.
Vix reperit quicquam cui non tamen ipsius omnem
Eidem elevaret vanitas.
Ast ubi dispexit, mentemque per omnia torsit
Deliberabundus diu :
Unum tandem, omnes una quod voce fatentur,
Omni esse vero verius,
Invenit, et scribit lepidum lepidissimus omnes
Cingere caput sibi furias.

IN CHORDIGERAM NAVEM, ET ANTIMORUM SYLVAM GERMANI BRIXII GALLI.

Brixius en Germanus habet sylvamque ratemque,
Dives opum terra, dives opum pelago.
Utraque vis illi quid præstat scire ? vehuntur
In rate stultitiæ, sylvam habitant furiæ.

IN HUNC HENDECASYLLABUM, IMO TREDECIM SYLLABARUM VERSUM GERMANI BRIXII GALLI, EX ANTI-MORO SUMPTUM

Excussisse, hominumque in ora protulisse.

MORUS.

Quòd versus adeò faceres enormiter amplos,
Quàm nemo antiquus, nemo poeta novus :
Sæpe diu mecum miratus quærere cœpi,
Accidit hoc Brixi qua ratione tibi ?

At tandem didici, metiri te tua suetum
Non numero aut pedibus carmina, sed cubitis.

IN IDEM.

Carmina Germani quod in hendecasyllaba lector
Syllaba conjecta est terna super decimam,
Da veniam : haud didicit tantum numerare, ut ab uno
Ordine perveniat rectus ad undecimum.
Nolo mihi numeret stellas, aut æquoris undas,
Criminave (hoc plus est) carminis ipse sui.
Pergama si numeret quot sunt obsessa per annos,
Si poterit musas dinumerare novem,
Octo pedes cancri, septena vel ostia Nili,
Fastorumve libros qui tibi Naso manent.
Si numeret cœli plagas, Phœbive caballos,
Tres numeret furias, ter tribus ipse furens.
Ipse suos (sed ne certem sine pignore, dura
Si vincar vinci conditione volo :)
Ipse suos oculos (quum sint duo) si numerarit,
Unum ego tunc patiar perterebretis ei.

FINIS.

Mundell, Doig, and Stevenson, printers, Edinburgh.

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